Rugby League Silk Cut Challenge Cup final: Bradford Bulls 32 St Helens 40

Paul Fitzpatrick at Wembley

EFORE Saturday, when Brad-Ford's young captain Robbie Paul deservedly took the honour, no one since David Topliss had won the Lance Todd Trophy for the Challenge Cup final's best player and finished on the losing

The workaholic Topliss had done his best to inspire Wakefield Trinity against Widnes in 1979, but that was one of Wembley's more mean-spirited years; a dour low-scoring final was characterised by the most unrugby league like action of Bill Kirkbride, the Trinity coach, who at the end locked his players in (and the press out) of the dressing room.

The contrast with Saturday could not have been greater. Doors were open everywhere, including a few in the respective defences, and the sunshine streamed in. Expansive is hardly the word. The previous highest aggregate of points - 52 in the Wigan-Hull final of 1985 - was swamped.

pause for breath; the excitement was unremitting and the plot in doubt until the end; and for Paul there was the unique achievement first time on Saturday could not Bradford's Robbie and Wigan's about its refining qualities and

That particular barrier was bound to fall some time but it was probably no coincidence that it should fall on Saturday. Summer rugby, hard ' grounds and the 10-metre rule offer / a recipe for scoring orgies. But is They were brilliantly taken, the last 26-12 evaporate. there a danger of saturation?

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Circle .

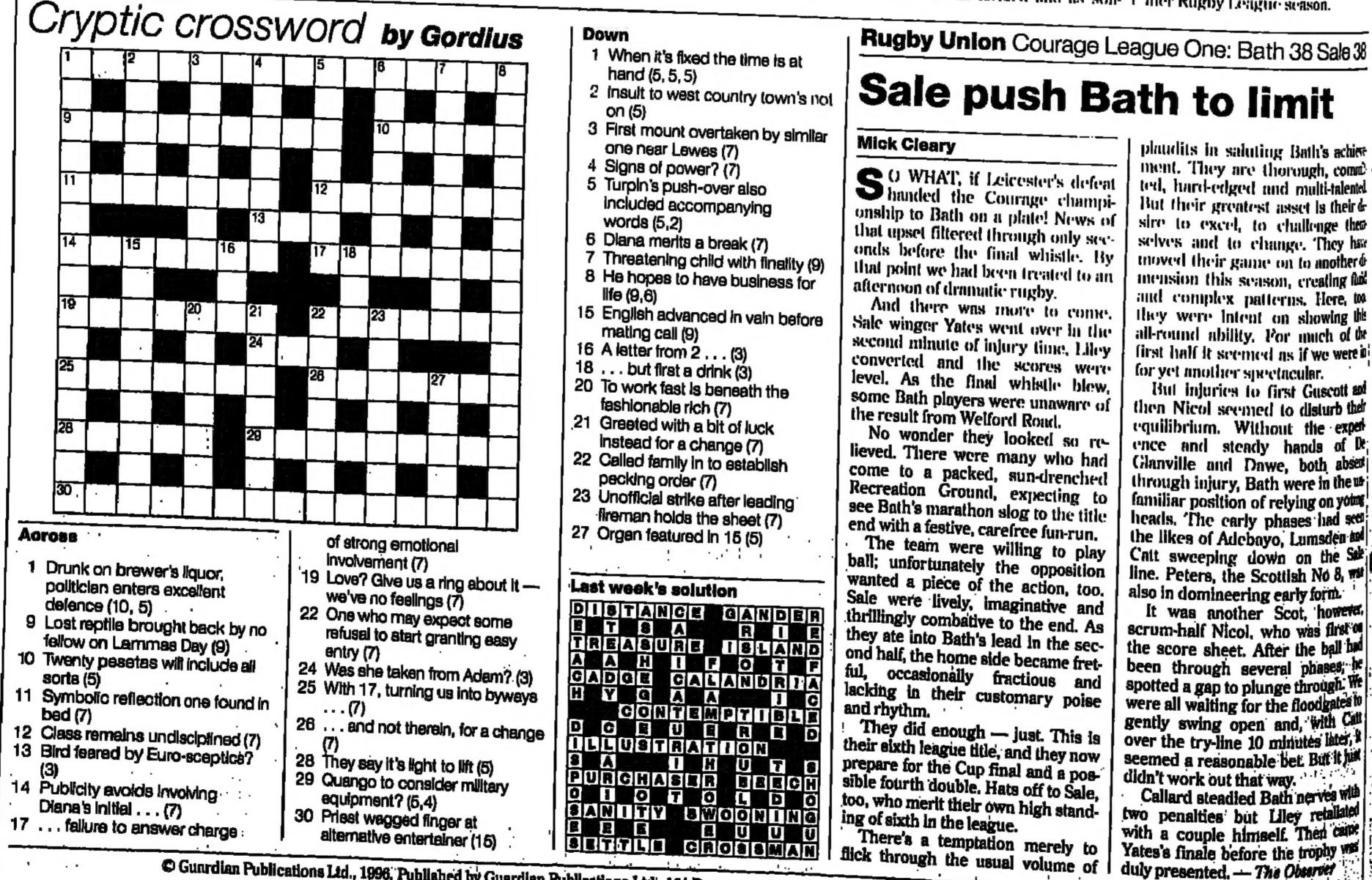
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4-1



them, and the pace, skill, discipline and physical honesty of it all. But the game needs to guard against a devaluation of the try.



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Saints take rampaging Bulls by the horns

of scoring three tries in a Wembley | have failed to be captivated by the | Henry, have barely begun their ca- | about the character to cope with it. final, a feat that earned him a cool quality of the touchdowns, 13 of reers but they look destined for a place among the immortals. Robbie might well have had a

winner's medal to go with his other booty had it not been for a horren-Not that there was anything base | dous spell in the second half when about Master Paul's three scores. Bradford saw a winning position of

Poor Nathan Graham knows exactly | it should not be a one-off. We we what he was on about.

Early in the second half the Bulls' full-back, far from fulfilling prematch predictions as a potential weakness, was in the running for the Lance Todd, Then, in seven / one the result of an audacious piece Brian Smith, Bradford's coach, formed into as forlorn and as soli-

tary a figure as Don For, then, who famously missed from her of the posts in 1968.

Three times Graham faid, defuse high "bombs" put up if wicked precision by Bobble (of ing. the Saints' scrum-half ade tain. Cunningham, Boota Pickavance were the beneficia of Graham's misfortune and m Goulding suddenly finding the kicking a cinch. Saints turned b 14-point deficit into a forme

After only 18 minutes & Prescott had collected two tries at that stage the St Helens fully was the raging favourite for El0,000 hat-trick prize. But by b time Bradford had worked t nerves and the errors out of the system; the argument whether there was any case for ing Jon Hamer had been rrelevant; and they led 14-12 r fine tries from Scales and Pauld three goals from the impect Cook.

Few Wembley finals have st so violently as this one in these ond half, and even when Pres crashed through for Saints' etc try five minutes from time te favourites could not be sure that brave Bulls did not have a fri charge left.

But for Saints and their follows Anyone watching the code for the of individualism. The Paul brothers, talked a lot afterwards about pain. deep disappointments of 1987, 18 and 1991. Their coach, Sha McRae, said: "The point now is h to do well in the Super Leaguer. come back here next year and e fend this title,"

Saints, the Super League leader will now concentrate on holdings Wigan's challenge over the renal ing 17 weekends of the first suc mer Rugby League season.

Rugby Union Courage League One: Bath 38 Sale 38

Sale push Bath to limit

Mick Cleary

C O WHAT, if Leicester's defeat A Danded the Courage championship to Bath on a plate! News of sire to excel, to challenge the that upset filtered through only sec- selves and to change. They have onds before the final whistle. By moved their game on to another of that point we had been treated to an afternoon of dramatic rugby.

And there was more to come. Sale winger Yates went over in the all-round ability. For much of the second minute of injury time, Liley | first half it seemed as if we were a converted and the scores were level. As the final whistle blew, some Bath players were unaware of the result from Welford Road.

lieved. There were many who had Glanville and Dawe, both abset come to a packed, sun-drenched Recreation Ground, expecting to familiar position of relying on your see Bath's marathon slog to the title end with a festive, carefree fun-run.

The team were willing to play ball; unfortunately the opposition wanted a piece of the action, too, Sale were lively, imaginative and thrillingly combative to the end. As scrum-half Nicol, who was first of they ate into Bath's lead in the sec- the score sheet. After the ball had

prepare for the Cup final and a pos-sible fourth double. Hats off to Sale, too, who merit their own high standing of sixth in the league.

There's a temptation merely to

plaudits in saluting Bath's achieve ment. They are thorough, come ted, hard-edged and multi-talented But their greatest asset is their & mension this season, creating ful and complex patterns. Here, tot they were intent on showing the for yet another spectacular.

But inducies to first Gascott and then Nicol seemed to disturb the equilibrium. Without the experi-No wonder they looked so re- ence and steady hands of De through injury, Bath were in the # heads. The carly phases had see the likes of Adebayo, Lumsden and Calt sweeping down on the Strip line. Peters, the Scottish No 8, 11 also in domineering early form

It was another Scot, however, seemed a reasonable bet. But it ju didn't work out that way. "

Callard steadied Bath nerves WI two penalties but Liley retailant with a couple himself. Then cane Yates's finale before the trophy we flick through the usual volume of | duly presented. - The Observer





Vol 154, No 19 Week ending May 12, 1996

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Moscow exposes nine British 'spies'

James Meek In Moscow and Richard Norton-Taylor

HE MOST serious crisi British-Russian since the end of the cold war loomed this week threatened to expel nine "significant" response if its diplo- gence Service (SIS). mats were ordered to leave.

umphant announcement by the Fed- for the federal government eral Security Service (FSB) --- the intelligence agency which sucrested a British spy in the act of his controllers in London.

Russia's deputy foreign minister, Sergei Krylov, confirmed that there would be expulsions, but refused on Monday to specify the number of Britons who would be ordered to pack their bags.

Grigory Karasin, Mr Krylov's spokesman, said later that the incident should not be dramatised. "Such cases sometimes happen in relations between countries," a ministry spokesman told the Interfax news agency

The UK Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, said there would be a "significant" response if Russia pressed ahead and expelled British diplomats. He said tit-for-tat exputsions were a possibility. "Absolutely no evidence has been given to our ambassador [Sir Andrew Wood] nor to the United Kingdom to support any allegations and, as far as we are concerned, these allegations are unjustified," he said.

Alexander Zdanovich, chief FSB spokesman, told the Itar-Tass news agency that the message handed to the British ambassador "described | Comment, page 12

in detail the activity of each of the listed spies and gave documental evidence about their contacts with a Russian citizen who had been a rested for spying for Great Britain".

Interfax reported on Monday that the Russian arrested was an official who had sold London political and diplomats it accuses of spying. defence secrets after being re-Britain warned Russia it planned a cruited by Britain's Secret Intelli-

Mr Zdanovich said the man, who Russia's threat came after a tri- has not been named, had worked Moscow. He was detained last month. "The arrested man had diceeded the KGB - that it had ar- rect access to secret information and passed on to British intelligence broadcasting secret information to information of a political and strategic-defence character," Mr Zdanovich said. He said the man had been recruited in the mid-1990s, and had received material reward from Britain.

The alleged spy, who is being held in Lefortovo prison. in Moscow, has been charged under article 64 of Russia's criminal code. Betraval of the Motherland, which carries a potential death sentence. Interfax said that the agent had confessed under interrogation to spying for Britain.

In February a businessman, Nigel Shakespear, one of 11 British diplomats and journalists expelled from Moscow in 1989 when he was working as a military attache at the embassy, was deported from Russia for the second time. Last year, a Russian journalist was asked to leave Britain.

Russian security services suspect that the relative ease with which Western businessmen come and go from Russia is being abused by overseas intelligence agencies.



Precious cargo . . . A baby is lifted up to fleeing Liberians packing a ship at Monrovia's port. About 2,000 people left on an overloaded Nigerian freighter on Sunday, heading for Ghana.

 $(\mathbf{r}_{i}) \in [\mathbf{r}_{i}]$

US marines opened fire to protect their embassy when fighting spread in the Liberian capital on Monday. Heavy overnight rain brought a hull on Ghana.

are losing.

Yeltsin promises poll will go ahead

David Hearst in Moscow

GENNADY Zyuganov, the Russ-ian Communist leader and main challenger to Boris Yeltsin, has called on all candidates in next, man, Mike McCurry, declared, month's presidential election to sign | Whether the Communists were re- process of reform has gone so far | sparked rumours that Mr Yeltsin ofa pact to abide by the outcome.

Monday after a rocky 24 hours in free and fair election". Russian politics sparked by the suggestion by the president's chief said: "We must guarantee the elec- like what happened after 1917." bodyguard and closest political con- tions are carried out in a strictly defidant, Lieutenant-General Alexander Korzhakov, that the election be postponed. Gen Korzhakov claimed the vote could lead to a civil war.

Gen Korzhakov was overruled by. Mr Yeltsin who said on Monday the pressed by voters, will be sacred." election would go ahead. But Mr Yeltsin characteristically muddled the waters by conceding the general was not alone in believing a Communist victory could spark turmoil. The president's pledge was

swiftly welcomed by the Clinton adimportance of the June, 16 election process," the White House spokes-

mocratic, honest and legal fashion, and at the same time sit around a table with all the parties and move-menta and sign an agreement that cused Mr Yeltsin of "rocking the cent of the arrears have been paid, ments and sign an agreement that the outcome of the election, as ex- boat".

but convincing about his pledge to the start of a civil war," he said.

In a separate interview with the ministration. "We've stressed the Russian business magazine Delovye Lyudy, he likened the possibility of and the certainty of the democratic | Mr Zyuganov taking power to the Bolahevik revolution.

"I would not say today that the cent meeting with Mr Yaviinsky has Mr Zyuganov made his call on the Russian people to address in a Yeltsin warned. "I am convinced that in return for his support. free and fair election". Speaking in Bonn, Mr Zyuganov ing to act without any limitations,

The Communist chairman of the lower house of parliament, Gennady Seleznyov, said there were no

Vladimir Lukin, a founding mem-Earlier, Mr Yeltsin was anything ber, of the Yabloko party, whose Mr Yeltsin has invited separatist leader, Grigory Yavlinsky, is also a Chechen field commanders to talks respect the wisdom of Russian voters, candidate for the presidency, said with Russia's prime minister, Viktor "Korzhakov is not alone in thinking | Gen Korzhakov's remarks "amell of | Chernomyrdin, and the Moscowthat a victory of Zyuganov would be intrigue". The extreme nationalist, backed leader of Chechenia, Doku Vladimir Zhirinovsky, said: The Zavgayev.



2 LETTERS TO THE EDITOR Poverty causes famine, not a shortage of food

FOUND your Environment sec- | or social catastrophe); a censorious | tion (April 28) particularly de- attitude to the things that most peo- than our parents did, but then the the tablelands of New South Wales, shocked to find that the Guardian pressing reading. But not, as you ple enjoy; and the promise of salvamight think, because I feared its im- tion if these things are renounced. minent, doom-laden predictions. It makes it all too easy to dismiss they too will exchange expanding Unfortunately, it was the litany of their message when facts are subor-population for the novel problems of Malthusian myth and factual error | dinated to the requirements of this | declining population. which affected my demeanour.

a tonne of aviation fuel to get to Van- environmental issues are to be taken couver (he must have been the only seriously, they will have to be disperson on the plane). Strangely cussed in a more clear-headed way. enough, it is the most technologi- Tom Marshall, cally advanced nations which have Copenhagen, Denmark done most to preserve their environments and address social in equalities: rather the reverse of what he suggests.

in food production - despite contin- cles stuck together in a special sec- only country of any worth in the search for more pest-specific pestiual excesses in world supply over tion on their own as though they world. While Americans are failing cides will again make our countrydemand in the past 20 years. had no relevance to anything else in to build sound relationships with side more "bird friendly". Famine, in case you didn't know, is the paper? caused by poverty, not lack of food. Singaporeans do not starve (yet they | these articles not allowed to influ- | with more than just Americans. produce little food), but food exports | ence the orthodox deregulationfrom Ireland or Ethiopia did not global market-"sustainable" growth

nary statement that oil supplies will Weekly, week in, week out? run out in 50 years - known re- (Dr) John Leonard, serves continue to grow, the price Woden, ACT, Australia continues to fall.

Finally, he rounds off a piece on water by suggesting that there is TIM RADFORD (Why meat will just "2,000 young Americans" "no substitute". When I last looked, soon be off the menu, April 28) (Washington Post, April 28). 70 per cent of the Earth's surface writes about the expanding populawas water. It can be (and in many tion of the undeveloped world the more about the world in which countries is) desalinated. This is ex- (where a couple's prestige and pen- they supposedly enjoy superpower pensive, but an expensive substitute sion depend on many sons), but is status, the sooner the Japanese (and is still a substitute.

literally taken upon themselves the Nowhere in the overdeveloped role of religious revivalists: perhaps | world (where a wife must work to | in the traditions of Hebraic prophets | pay the mortgage) does the average or Puritans. The key elements of size of women's completed families this are: ominous wa retribution (in this

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HARD'S

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13

unholy trinity. This is a pity, because | Geoff Leet, John Adams claims to have used some important messages get lost. If

I T IS very refreshing to see the ar-I ticles in the Environment section Tim Radford then predicts a crisis (April 28). But why are these arti-

mistaken in expecting the popula-It seems that "greens" have quite | tion of the United States to double.

this are: ominous warnings of divine retribution (in this case, ecological t	each the 2.2 necessary to keep up he present population. This applies
Poet, painter, painter, p	bhilosopher?
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I prefer nul to receive promotional offers from selected companies. ちいしんごちがれい

THE problem with Americans, particularly those living in Japan, is that they think they're the on sustainable agriculture and the the Japanese, the Japanese are (al-Why are the considerations in | beit slowly) building relationships /

rant of anything but themselves are societies must have been to make modesty is a virtue but I really do mean the people could afford to eat. slant which informs most of the rest a recurring source of annoyance to their newfound homes more "Eng- think that the United States should He then includes the extraordi- of the articles and analysis in the us non-Americans in Japan. To that lish", few could have predicted that not be so concerned about immodend, the Japanese government's their avifauna could eventually JET programme brings over 4,000 | become more English than England people from English-speaking coun- itself. tries as well as China, Korea, Brazil, Richard french-Constant, France, Germany and others; not

The sooner Americans learn a litthe rest of us) will stop referring to "bloody Americans" Shreekant Raivadera. British JET, Aomori, Japan

we alypical.

entive writers, calls us the most | and icy too. leavily propagandised people in the hat our country is the font of all | big continent have just one climate? oodness and is always acting out of altruism. They really do walk very notion that we would bully jobs and welfare. The grass is not omeone is like Orwell's Thought- greener over here. rime: totally outside the realm of Rosemary Evans, ossible consideration for most US | St Kilda, Victoria, Australia tizens.

The US media is heavily conrolled by the military-industrial omplex that also controls the govrnment. In addition, large amounts re spent to promote jingoism, enophobia and anti-intellectualism a continuous dumbing-down of ir population.

INOTE with 'some 'alarm' the re- ' cent decline in British songbirds" tative status with the UN. It's time to (Comment, April 28). These statis | introduce the UN to democracy. tics reinforce the noticeable in- Bruce Kent; crease in the silence of the English" Forum for UN Renewal; London

GUARDIAN WEEKLY May 12 1996

to the US, Japan, the Tiger countryside found on recent visits **Briefly** economies, and all of Europe, both to the UK. East and West, Italian women, for example, average only 1.6 children. populations will reduce. As further countries become industrialised population for the novel problems of

Thurso, Scotland

American view of the world

ems, as well as those problems we chosen? frequently cause other countries. hris Sorochin.

ort Jefferson, New York; USA

Distant songs of England in en la Terra e français de la esta est

Ironically, many of these same species have enjoyed notable suc-The ageing populations of these cess when transplanted overseas, countries will still grow a little as old For example, skylarks appear to be people like myself live a little longer | reaching almost pest proportions in | German degree, I was deeply Australia, and I observed more song | Weekly has wasted one of its so thrushes on a recent visit to New valuable pages on this Austrian bore Zealand than on several trips to the (April 28). UK.

> exist for the growth of introduced who do not like "accepted wisdom" species in the absence of their nat- that anything which goes against ural predators, the increase of these that wisdom is necessarily correct. populations must also to some ex- Handke's uncritical defence of all tent reflect their adaptability to things Serbian - which includes changing (if also deforested) envi- large numbers of massacres in the ronments. In this respect the decline last few years - is typical of his of such species in the face of chang- woolly, affected way of drawing ating agricultural practices in the UK tention to himself. is all the more worrying. We can NA Metcalfe, only hope that the recent emphasis | St Blasicn, Germany

Many of these species were introduced to Australia and New Zealand by ill-informed "acclimatisation " Americans in Japan who are igno- societies". Although the aim of these Syria. Many of us were taught that

Canberra, Australia

Chilly warning to emigrants

TO BRITS considering emigrat-Catherine Bennett's article (April a law that would stop self-serving, 28): the climate is not beautiful. Don't be deceived by travel agents, DETER MORGAN of Barbados | or Australian soapies; even in South (April 7) wonders how we in Queensland sea-bathing is a chilly he US can tolerate our government | business; in arctic Victoria there are being regarded as the world's Big not four neat seasons, but at least Bully". I assume Mr Morgan has six months of releatless cold and never spent any length of time here | wet, and buildings seldom have adeand that friends from this country quate heating, the inhabitants being firmly convinced they live in a tropi- | cally and geographically belongs to Gore Vidal, one of our most per- cal climate. "Summer" can be grey | Europe still appears to be denying

Age we're brainwashed into thinking | Wilde remarked). How could such a | or even "Continental")?

And since it elected a "Liberal" government two months ago, Ausround believing this fairy tale. The tralia has voted itself savage cuts to

UN democracy?

to be the next secretary-general? | factions? This self-enforced, aggressive ig- There is another, equally critical, David Walmsley, orance is the source of all our prob- question. How is he or she to be Vancouver, Canada

Article 97 of the UN Charter says only that "the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security' Council". The present system of secret lobbying is not inimutable.

The UK government would do the United Kingdom. All rights reserved. in Parliament and canvassed the Kingdom; 262 (Europe Inc. Ere); 266 USA views of NGOs, which have consul-

AVING had to waste hours of 17 my time on Handke in the course of reading for an external

He is one of that race of pseudo-Although numerous theories intellectuals who persuade people

I SEE that the United States has I restated its list of nations that are supposed to be guilty of "statesupported terrorism": Cuba, North Korea, Sudan, Libya, Iraq, Iran and esty as to leave itself off the list. John Gittins. University of Toronto, Canada

DEGARDING your Washington Post article about the death of Jessica Dubroff (April 21), I cannot believe that a child would forcibly insist on taking off in adverse conditions, and that the two adults in the plane would defer to her decision.

Instead of passing legislation ing to Australia after reading against juvenile pilots, why not pass egotistical, idiotic adults from flying? Ann Ashley, Vancouver, BC, Canada

> I CAN understand that a country I wants to preserve its identity, but I find it a little odd that Great Britain, a country which both politi-

the fact. Why "European ban on Look at Australia on the map | British beef" (as opposed to "Other world, and it's true. From an early ("what an ugly shape", as Oscar | members of the European Union" Wim Pol.

The Netherlands

A ANY a transportation mag-IVI nate, including Paul Martin, Canada's finance minister, has ships registered in Liberia. While the current civil war is under way, are ships' registration fees being collected? If so, who do they benefit? Do they amount to enough to make a difference? Or are they, in fact, a VICTORIA BRITTAIN (The UN | factitious; indeed a flagicious, fic-V needs a fresh leader, April 28) tion functioning in the final analysis raises an important question: who is as a fragmentiser of the fractions

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May 12, 1996

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and Canada, 260 Rest of World, iteration "Latters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weekly. 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HO. Fax: 44-171-242-0985 (UK: 0171-242 0985) e-mail: weekly@guardian!co.uk! GUARDIAN WEEKLY May 12 1996

Nationalists in India poised for success

Suzanne Goldenberg In New Delhi

1 NDIANS voted in the last main round of general elections on Tuesday, and while they are unlikely to deliver a decisive verdict, they have signalled growing support for a rightwing Hindu party once confined to the margins of public life.

Opinion polls have been saying the Bharatiya Janata Party will win most seats in what will probably be a hung parliament. The party, which has struggled for acceptance as a credible alternative to the ruling Congress, is at last being seen as a potential party of government.

A poll in the Times of India at the weekend, however, suggests that the BJP's surge has lost steam. Muslims and other communities, alarmed at the prospect of a BJP government, are throwing their support behind anyone with a chance of beating the party's candidates.

gratiate itself with Muslims. But it is parliament. still seen as the party which provoked the wave of religious fervour | vice-president, said the party was that led to the destruction of a historic mosque in Ayodhya in De- ment by roping in regional allies. upper-caste Hindus against affirmacember 1992. Dalits (formerly "un- Unallied regional parties will be touchables") and low-caste Hindus | crucial in forming the government. also seem unimpressed by the BJP's efforts to win them over.



People queue to vote in Moradabad in India's northern state of Uttar Pradesh

Sundar Singh Bhandari, the BJP's | 119 MPs in the last parliament. determined to try to form a govern-The past 12 years have seen a

The poll gave the Congress 169 | BJP, which was previously shunned |

backlash by Brahmins and other spectacular rise in the fortunes of the | by the BJP and used by the BJP to | eign firms into Inclia's markets.

consolidate their hold on the Hindu seats, the BJP 165, and the National for its association with the Hindu upper castes," said Purushotam Ag-Front-Left Front alliance of regional | fanatics who assassinated Mahatma | garwal, an associate professor at The BJP has tried recently to in- parties 145 seats in the 543-seat | Gandhi in 1948. It won only two | Delhi's Jawaharlal Nehru Universeats in the 1984 elections, but had sity. "The BJP will continue to be a significant force in Indian society The party's rise represents a because it represents the vested interests of Hindu society."

Unlike the Congress, which has tive action programmes for Dalit | promised to carry on with economic and low-caste Hindus. "This un- reforms begun in 1991, the BJP is precedented anger was encouraged ambivalent about the entry of for-

Calls for land-mines ban ignored

Owen Bennett Jones in Geneva

with failure to secure a global as a mine-layer's charter. ban on the use of land-mines. Despite agreement on new restricgeneral, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, de- a total ban. In nine years all land-

tional Weapons Convention outlawed mandatory jail for those who do not. sought by more than 30 govern- as in international conflicts. But the new gun laws to be ments, the UN and the Red Cross-

and a further 80,000 injured by land- been an effective weapon. A number

the conference as an outrage.

Tim Carstairs of Britain's Working Group on Land-mines — which | ing Britain, now say that they want a WO years of international includes agencies such as Oxfam | total ban. But most reserve the right negotiations ended last week and Save the Children - attacked it

or fitted with a device making them An inter-governmental confer- self-destruct or deactivate within ence revising the 1980 UN Conven- 120 days. All mines will also have to available equipment". For the first mines will apply in internal as well

But anti-mine campaigners believe these are tiny gains, and could "The next review conference of | be counter-productive. They argue that, by legitimising the use of selfgeneration of hi-tech mines.

They also claim mines have never of senior military officers, including The UN leader's strongly worded | the leader of the United States miliattack was backed up by non- tary campaign in the Gulf war, Genserve any useful military purpose. problem of clearing land-mines.

More than 30 countries, includban is agreed. Others, notably China However, Johan Molander, who and Russia, say that they still conchaired the negotiations, said the sider mines to be a legitimate weapon which can help defend their troops. As many as 20,000 people are mitted to reducing the budget - the vast majority civilians. While | cent by 1997. Most economists particularly at risk because they | tion costs.

play in places where no adult has been, and where there are still active mines. UN agencies estimate that there

in 68 countries.

Delegates at the Geneva conference observed one minute's silence to honour the estimated 14,586 October, when the new land-mine protocol was initially scheduled to peseta". be adopted.

David Fairhall adds: Nato has responded favourably to an appeal from Labour's shadow defence secdescribed the final text agreed at publicly stated that mines do not tary expertise to the humanitarian press Spanish claims to the

Bossi puts boot into Italian state

John Hooper In Rome

a general election threatened to styled Mantus parliament, a convensideline his movement.

have expressed outrage about a taken on many of the airs of a con-. style break-up of Italy, "The time has come to sit down around a table declared.

Politicians of the left and right to the Rome legislature that has advancement.

urging a peaceful, Czechoslovak- tion last year. At the weekend, the "parliament" approved a motion which is thought to have endorsed the people of Padania [Mr Bossi's

Australia aims to curb **TV** violence

Bradley Perrett in Canberra

USTRALIAN politicians called Monday for a crackdown on | tions, the United Nations secretary | final text was a modest step towards violent television and video games as well as tighter gun controls fol | scribed the outcome as deeply dis- mines must either be clearly marked lowing last week's massacre in appointing. Tasmania which left 35 people dead.

The prime minister, John Howard, told parliament the federal government wanted a national ban on all undetectable anti-personnel mines | they are detectable with "commonly automatic and semi-automatic guns, and put restrictions on the use of allowing a six-month annesty for | other "smarter" mines, but a total | time, the rules governing the use of owners to surrender them and ban on anti-personnel mines -

worked out with state leaders this | will have to wait. week would not be the only solution, he said. "The causes of that | this convention will take place in dreadful event lie deeper than sim- five years' time," Dr Boutros-Ghali destructing weapons, the treaty will ply the inadequacy of our gun con- said. "Our estimate is that, by the trol laws," Mr Howard said. "They year 2001, an additional 50,000 go to aspects of the kind of society | human beings will have been killed we are, they go to issues concerning violence on the screen and in mines." videos. They also . . . raise legitimate questions about contemporary attitudes towards the treatment of governmental organisations, which eral Norman Schwarzkopf, have retary, David Clark, to apply its mili- Gibraitar", he said, and would mental health problems."

A gunman armed with a high-powered rifle killed 35 people at the historic Port Arthur convict site 50km southeast of Hobart in Tasmania. It was Australia's worst mass murder since atrocities committed against Aborigines last century.

The Queensland state police minister, Russell Cooper, from the con- N TYPICALLY flamboyant yet servative National Party, also called subtly equivocal fashion, Umfor investigations of violent televi- berto Bossi, the leader of the Northsion. "We have to be looking at ern League, has put the future of those things as well because I think | Italy's rich north back at the top of it does upset people's minds in the political agenda only weeks after many respects." he said. -- Reuter

Comment, page 12



are currently 100 million mines laid

Spain's PM prescribes austerity

Adela Gooch in Madrid

C PAIN'S new conservative 🗢 prime minister, José María Aznar, was sworn in at the weekend, bringing the first change in government in almost 14 years. The cabinet he named includes two independents as

defence and justice ministers. and a balance of spenders and slashers in economics, which he says will be his priority.

Last week he outlined a tough programme of financial austerity, less bureaucracy and greater backing for business --aimed at meeting European monetary union targets.

Mr Aznar, leader of the centreright Popular Party (PP), insisted that some key institutions, including the legal system, state television and civil service, needed to be changed to fight corruption and safeguard democracy.

He was voted into office with Catalan, Basque and Canary Island MPs providing the majority that he failed to achieve in the general election on March 3.

In a parliamentary debate, Mr Aznar said his priorities would be to slash spending and encour age growth as first steps towards reducing unemployment — the highest in the European Union - and to curb the budget deficit.

He insisted he would protect the welfare system guaranteeing health care and pensions. But his references to privatisation. tax reforms, and changes to labour laws, making it easier to to use mines until an international | dismiss workers, will not please the unions. They have warned they will fight attempts to cut welfare benefits.

He stressed that he was comblown up by land-mines each year | deficit from 5.9 per cent to 3 per many victims die, most lose limbs. | believe it will be virtually impos-There is also a high risk that they | sible to do this merely by fighting contain eight grams of iron so that | can be blinded as well. Children are | fraud and reducing administra-

Even if the annual growth targets of 3 per cent are met, Mr Aznar will almost certainly have to trim welfare costs and is said to be considering introducing charges for health care.

Corruption, which brought the defeat of his Socialist predecessor, Felipe González, also figured encourage the production of a new people killed or maimed since last Mr Aznar said his administration would account "for every

> He had a stern warning for Britain. His administration would be tough on "drug trafficking and money laundering in Rock with vigour.

The resolution also approved the creation of an umbrella group --- the Padania Liberation Committee and opened the way for the election speech by Mr Bossi at the weekend | stituent assembly since its forma- | of a 10-strong "government" by the next session of the parliament.

Romano Prodi, the man who is most likely to be Italy's new prime to divide up the country," he the "right to self-determination of minister, said Mr Bossi's remarks were "terrible". The Pope, on a pas-Mr Bossi was addressing the self- name for the north]" and their toral visit to the north, begged "right of resistance" to laws or rules | Roman Catholics to work for the tion of the League's representatives that stand in the way of their "common good of the entire national community",

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

The Week

RESIDENT Nelson Mandela defused a threatened crisis in South Africa by persuading Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to accept a month's postponement of local elections in KwaZulu-Natal. But the main political parties are in a deadlock over a new constitution. Martin Woollacott, page 12

I IGERIA'S military rulers N have retired dozens of air force and navy officers a few weeks after scores of army officers were swept out.

AT industries, the tobacco D and financial services combine, said booming cigarette sales had helped boost profits for the year to \$900 million - a 16 per cent jump.

HE leftwing Sandinista National Liberation Front over whelmingly picked the former president, Daniel Ortega, as its presidential candidate for Nicarogua's general elections on October 20.

RESIDENT Clinton is to bypass Congress and use his executive power to impose a reform that would slash welfare for teenage mothers who leave home and drop out of school. Washington Post, page 16

RED CROSS official and a A doctor visited 11 hostages held since January by separatist rebels in Indonesia's Irlan Jaya province.

THNIC tensions in Burundi heightened following reports of a massacre of 235 Hutu civilians by the mostly Tutsi army.

HE US Senate passed a bill to crack down on illegal immigrants at the border and in the workplace, and stiffen rules to keep them off welfare benefits.

IU GANG, one of the most prominent pro-democracy dissidents to flee China, has been granted permission to stay temporarily in the US.

WAVE of arson attacks hit A Bahrain, destroying two shopping mails and badly damaging other buildings in an escalation of anti-government protests.

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CSini-

EA

OTERS in the eastern Ger-W man state of Brandenburg snubbed Berlin and decided to reject a merger with the future capital to form a federal state. E state

HE body of the former CIA Chief, William Colby, was washed ashore on a river bank south of Washington, nine days after neighbours reported him missing. · · ·

USSIA has arrested a scientist in Siberla for manufacturing and smuggling nuclear material abroad.

lan Traynor in Bonn

and Serbia are seeking to European Union. capitalise on the plight cials in Bonn.

ing negotiations on repatriation be- civilian reconstruction effort. tween Bonn and Sarajevo and demanding payment for the proposed returnees.

Local authority leaders in government-controlled parts of Bosnia almost all under the control of Presi- exact payment for co-operation. dent Alija Izetbegovic's ruling Muslim Democratic Action Party from Germany bring "taxes" of up aid official disclosed.

There are at least 320,000



Held back ... Police rescue a Vietnamese child whose mother tried Hong Kong society could occur." It to jump with her from a navy ship last week as Malaysia forcibly deported 126 boat people to Vietnam PHOTOGRAPH: MIKE FLALA

Nobel poet faces sex lawsuit

Martin Walker in Washington

star professor, the Nobel prize- passion of the subjects, then ac- press the Government to make an harassment trial instituted by a female former student.

The stage is set for a drama of sexual and racial politics, in which 'the focus will be the West Indian charges are without grounds. "We' ethnic Chinese. poet's claim that unscrupulous women find it easy to destroy the reputations of prominent men with sourious charges:

Prof Walcott, aged 66, told her she: gree drama course in February. She nor Chris Patten's reforms with a ing against Israeli land confiscations would fail his course unless she had filed a private suit for emotional dis- body picked by Beijing. A Chinese at the self-ruled enclave of Qalqilya sex with him. He was reprimanded tress, compensation for her univer- request for "necessary" co-opera- in the West Bank, officials said. when he taught at Harvard after an- sity fees, and punitive damages, and tion" for a provisional legislature other female student made a similar | is seeking more than \$500.000.

sion," officials said.

GUARDIAN WEEKI May 12 1908

Balkans refugee 'tax' angers Germany

war population and a figure that | but mostly failed asylum-seekers. | report warned. The return of

Mr Kanther is anxious to see demanding payment to allow them | man generosity and hospitality. But to return home, according to gov- he was forced to concede last week ernment and relief organisation offi- that his deadline of July 1 for the beginning of deportations was no Manfred Kanther, Germany's longer practicable, given the fragile tough-talking interior minister, said condition of the Bosnian peace the Bosnian government was block- process and the halting pace of the

Mr Kanther also attacked the Ser-

Ethnic Albanians from the tense Serbian province of Kosovo are more than 2,000 a month, according to DM10,000 (\$6,600), a well-placed to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

There are now thought to be at

that the teaching of poetry and abode in Britain. OSTON University is to back its drama was touched by the inherent have been misunderstood,

entirely believe Mr Walcott's ver-

eclipses the number of Bosnians The German authorities want to HE governments of Bosnia scattered across the rest of the deport them, but Serbia refuses to take them back.

Mr Kanther also accused Croatia hundreds of thousands of Balkan them begin to return, arguing that of being in cahoots with Bosnia's refugees sheltering in Germany by they are testing the limits of Ger- government in seeking to block repatriation.

Germany needs transit agreements with Austria, Slovenia and Croatia to begin sending the Bosnians home since the vast majority of them will travel overland.

The government of President Franjo Tudjman in Croatia is bent on delaying an influx of Muslims bian government of President Slo- into Bosnia because this would tip bodan Milosevic for blocking the the ethnic balance of the Muslimreturn of thousands of other mi- | Croat federation established in half grants to Germany, and for trying to | of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Muslims' favour.

A confidential German foreign ministry report that helped Mr Kanwere stipulating that each returnee pouring into Germany at the rate of ther decide to delay ejecting the Bosnians warned that a mass return of refugees from abroad could sink the ailing federation.

A durable coexistence of Musrefugees from the war in Germany, least 130,000 Kosovo Albanians in lims and Croats in a common federabout 7.5 per cent of Bosnia's pre- Germany who are not war refugees ation was "far from assured", the Washington Post, page 15

chaos in Hong Kong

Andrew Higgins in Hong Kong

A SECRET Chinese report on the future of Hong Kong has warned the Communist Party to brace for riots, a slump in foreign investment and other perils when Britain pulls out next year, a Hong Kong magazine reported last week.

An independent Chinese-language monthly, Cheng Ming, quoted what it said was a leaked Chinese document as saying Britain would play the "democracy card" to prolong artillery on April 18. colonial influence after 1997.

The internal report was said to have been prepared by China's Hong Kong and Macau Affairs Office. Its authenticity could not be confirmed, though its logic matches that of Beijing conspiracy theories.

It said "anti-Chlucse and anticommunist forces" in the United States and Taiwan could stir up trou- said. ble after 1997 to undermine China's stability: "Violent and armed turmoil leading to the paralysis of predicted a drop of between 20 and 80 per cent in foreign investment.

Amid fading hopes for a smooth transfer of sovereignty, the shadow British foreign secretary, Robin "drone" was operating in the area of Cook, on a visit to the colony the camp at the time is further pledged to help non-Chinese ethnic ammunition for critics, who say the allegation. Prof Walcott, claiming, minorities to secure the right of firing was at best cynically callous,

He said the Labour party would winning poet Derek Walcott, and knowledged that his "deliberately "unconditional" offer of sanctuary of the massacre, was "a regrettable personal and intense" style might to the 3,000-5,000 people who will be miss and not bad decision-making effectively stateless after 1997. But After a lengthy internal investiga- he offered scant solace for the bulk on Monday ended their first, largely tion of this latest incident, Boston of Hong Kong's 6,4 million people, University has concluded that the rejecting more British passports for peace settlement at the Egyptian te

secretary, Anson Chan, confirmed Nicole Niemi, a former television that the colony had rejected Chijournalist, filed the charge after nese demands for help in replacing; and wounded nine Palestinians la The student, in her 30s, claims quitting Prof Walcott's Masters de a legislature elected under Gover- clashes with demonstrators protest. une rafierid

refugees was meeting "massive resistance from local Croats". The report envisaged a bleak future for Bosnia and anticipated the persecution of non-Serbs returning to areas under Serb control.

The UNHCR estimates that as many as 70 per cent of the 320,000 Bosnian refugees in Germany are Muslim victims of Serb ethnic cleans ing, drummed out of their lands in areas now under Serb control.

Most will be unable to return y their native areas and will need to be accommodated in the Muslim Croat federation, but that plan it generating fierce Croat opposition.

Officials from the five-power "contact group" on Bosnia - the United States, Russia, Germany France and Britain - met in Frank furt on Sunday to discuss the refugee crisis. The head of the UNHCR, Sadako Ogata, began tour of Bosnian hotspots on Sunday in an attempt to galvanise the repa triation process.

Beijing fears | Peres digs in over attack on UN base

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

THE Israeli prime minister, Shimon Peres, dismissed renewed claims on Monday that Israeli gunners fined deliberately at a United Nations base in Lebanon packed with refugees.

The new accusations are backed by an amateur UN video of an Is raeli ummanned spy plane flying near the Qana camp in South I ebanon as it was being pounded by

Mr Peres stuck by the Israeli army's version of events; a spy plane was flying in the vicinity but was not over the camp, "The army was very careful with its story and the army admitted when it made a mistake We made a mistake. We are terribly sorry ... But we insist the information that was given is correct," he

More than 100 Lebanese civilians died in the attack on Qana, and the much vaunted Israeli capacity for precision strikes was gravely under mined by the hideous carnage a the UN camp, in which the presence of refugees was public knowledge.

The confirmation that a pilotiess: and at worst deliberate.

That the shells hit a UN post, said Palestinian and Israeli negotiators symbolic, talks on a permanent sort of Taba. The talks will resume Meanwhile, Hong Kong's chief after the Israeli general election on May 29.

Meanwhile, Israeli soldiers shot

GUARDIAN WEEKLY May 12 1996

Tudiman seeks to stifle his critics

Julian Borger in Zagreb

HE CROATIAN government cil last week, less than a fortnight before the country formally joins | put forward by the opposition. the Council of Europe, a forum for human rights.

erty and environmental laws, but | ern leverage on the government. the decision came only days after

profile of President Franjo Tudiman. Two days earlier, Zagreb's city | that Croatia's admittance had only council was dissolved, after being has intensified its campaign elected last year with an opposition against critics in the press and majority. President Tudiman had allocal government, closing an inde- ready made it clear he would not nendent newspaper and dissolving surrender control of the capital, by rights ... It has done nothing --- if the opposition-led Zagreb city coun- vetoing - on "national security" grounds — four nominee mayors

When the Council's assembly the promotion of democracy and voted to admit Croatia last week desplte its patchy human rights record, for denying membership to Croatia; Panorama, a weekly tabloid, was European diplomats in Zagreb said closed by the financial police. The | the move would strengthen Croatofficial reason was violation of prop-

But a United Nations human the newspaper printed a critical rights monitor said that the govern- arguing for a postponement be- dent Tudiman is personally involved I tribunal said last week.

ment's recent actions demonstrated served to weaken the West's influence. "The government promised the council it would make improvements on 21 points concerning human anything the situation is worse. But they let them in. What is the point?"

The official added that when the council accepted Russia as a member in January, it forfeited grounds whose human rights transgressions pale in comparison. Croatia's formal entry is due to be finalised by European officials meeting in Strasbourg next week, but the Netherlands is

cause of the fragile state of the Balkan peace settlement. The Panorama closure comes less than a month after another independent newspaper, Novi List, was fined more than \$1,5 million for allegedly evading customs duty on printing equipment. Its editors deny any wrongdoing. The Tudiman government has also had a poor record on the treatment of minorities, in particular Serbs, Hundreds of Serb civilians were killed after the government stormed the separatist region of Krailna last year. Human rights officials say about 20,000 Croatian Serbs, who fled during the offensive, have applied to resettle in their

former homes, but only a handful have been allowed to return.

Pirate CFCs stall ozone recovery

Robin McKie

DUSSIAN criminals have Created a black market trade in ozone-destroying chemicals to illegally replenish the air conditioning systems of gas-guzzling American cars.

More than 15,000 tons of these illegally manufactured chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) are brought into the US annually and distributed through hundreds of garages. The banned chemicals are the second most lucrative commodity smuggled through Miami, with supplies worth more than \$300 million sold each year nationwide.

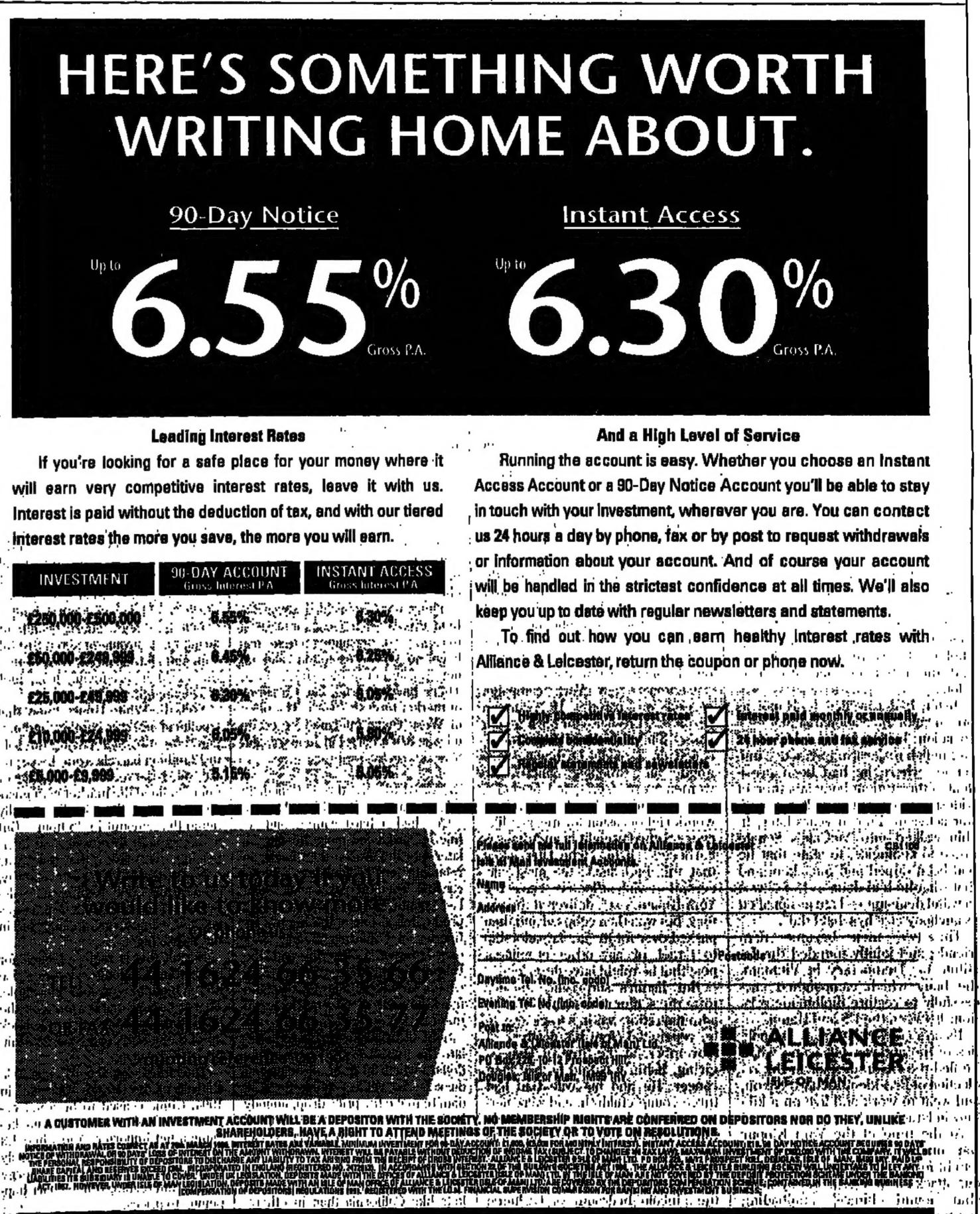
The scale of the black market in CFCs - which are used in old cooling plants, refrigerators and air conditioning units — threat-ens to wreck the international agreement aimed at halting the depletion of Earth's ozone layer, warns a report to be published this week by the Royal Institute of International Affairs.

The problem was last week described as "worrying" by Dr Joe Farman, who first discovered that CFCs - which interact with chemicals in the upper atmosphere - have punched holes in the ozone layer over the North and South Poles, allowing harm-ful ultra-violet radiation to reach the ground,

The institute report says CFC, smuggling has flourished be-cause criminals have been able to exploit the US's predilection for cars with powerful air conditioning systems. Ninety per cent of US cars have such units, compared with 10 per cent of European models.

In the US, new cars are fitted with cooling systems that use a range of refrigerants not linked with ozone layer damage. Old models, which used CFCs that are now banned in the US, have to be retro-fitted. This is an expensive procedure, however, and refitting costs can range from 8300 to 8800.a car.

The problem is worrying because although the ozone layer is expected to continue being de pleted until 2000, after that it should slowly recover as cuts in CFC production take effect. But the recovery is threatened by the global black market trade in these chemicals



INTERNATIONAL NEWS 5

in the campaign against dissent. H intervened repeatedly to veto oppo-sition candidates for the post of Zagreb's mayor, saying opposition leadership in the capital would weaken Croatia. Political observers point out that once the liberal opposition controlled Zagreb city hall, would be in a position to expose long-suspected corruption in the privatisation process.

Mr Tudiman appears to be drift ing towards the far right as next year's presidential elections ap proach. And with the president showing no intention of bowing out a new, more democratic Croatia may take a long time to emerge.

• The Bosnian government has arrested two Muslims indicted by the UN war crimes tribunal for killing There is little doubt that Presi- Serbs at a prison camp in 1992, the

memories of '70s taga sa dénika an 6 mar ar q The US this week Martin Walker

6 INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Pumped up by

HE COUNTRY, and a very much smaller circle of influ-ential people around Presi-dent Clinton, were both rocked by echoes from the 1970s. One was odd, a little flurry at the petrol | sought to steer the party back to the pump. The other was haunting, the electable centre of politics. death and funeral of a little-known American whose life since the sev- never quite forgiven Ifshin for his enties explains a great deal about the shaping of modern politics. In combination, the two events be- visive for many of the Vietnam came a jarring collision between the ridiculous and the sublime.

Clinton went to a funeral, to join the conservative Republican Senator John McCain in giving the eulo- Ickes, who is now deputy chief of times of 1973 and 1979, Not that pump, or \$4 a gallon like the French US). The lowest estimates for gies for David Lishin, who died of staff at the White House, and who in there were any lines of angry dri- and Germans, or almost \$5 like the China's growth now suggest conlung cancer at the young age of 47 1992 was running the Clinton cam- vers waiting outside America's gas Italians and Japanese, a little price sumption is doubling to 10 barrels a on the eve of May Day. Clinton's paign in the New York primary eleo stations, nor any Arabs sheikhs hiccup of another 10 or 20 cents is head in 2000. That would mean presence was to be expected, as an tion, a crucial hurdle on the way to being burned in effigy. But the Re- hardly noticed. But Americans are China Importing an extra 6 billion old friend and political ally, who had securing the Democratic nominal publicans did their best to whip up spoilt, paying less than half the barrels a year, or 16 million barrels known lishin since they worked on | tion. Clinton was a battered candi- some good old-fashioned outrage at | British price, and conventional polit- a day - twice the current producthe McGovern presidential cam- date, bruised by scandal, and the the soaring cost of oil. paign in 1972. McCain's presence at complex ethnic stew of New York the funeral was less predictable, and was proving resistant to his political petrol price, from an average of This may be wrong. Ross Perot market where demand is surging. helps to reveal one of the most dra- | appeal. matic political odyssey's of modern, . Ickes, a prominent lawyer (and self-served regular on February 9; recommended a 50-cent-a-gallon tax have shrouded the implication that American life.

war in Hanoi, that the Navy pllot despair, when Ifshin came to the California prices rose more sharply, gas tax raises roughly \$1,000 mil- patterns of the first. If China can be John McCain first came across If-shin, speaking on Hanoi radio about power of the Jewish lobby to Clinton. cheap. American war crimes against North Vietnam. Ifshin's broadcast was then used as an instrument of bay chological torture against McCain and the other downed American bilots.

Ifshin had travelled to Hanoi as president of the National Student As-sociation, having just graduated as kosher kitchen in the White House, oil was \$16 a barrel in January, and pared for it by announcing the sale most dramatic period of commodity an English major from Syracuse university, where he had been president of the student body at a time of widespread campus revolt and anti-; screen, and declared, "This is a reasons; for this. America line, In fact, the Saudis usually war activism. Fifteen years later, lfshin walked into McCain's Senate office to apologise, to state that he barbecue". Lishin, who later joked later into the season than usual, so heating spot market that relief was and Big Mac hamburgers, had been duped and mistaken, and that what he had done in Hanoi was "a wilful delusion - I am as appalled as anybody else by what I did".

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والعال المور

The two men became firm friends, and jointly founded the In- to Israel, or any other prominent stitute for Democracy in Vietnam, the body which campaigned successfully to restore diplomatic relations between the US and Hanoi.

tics of the anti-war left came when he fled the US in despair at the reelection of President Richard Nixon, and went to work and live on a kib-

shin found himself unloading the Lincoln bedroom, and Clinton kets like California than in others. ammunified unloading the Lincoln bedroom, and Clinton kets like California than in others. US Air hor course call to claim and the say at the transformer of the world himself unloading to prices.

he 'later'''recalled,''' almost '' an'' epiphany, the realisation that Ameri-can warplanes and weaponry were a force for good, for a cause that he believed in.

He returned to the US, went to law school, and became one of the country's leading experts of elec-toral law, developing a mastery over the various arcane 'regulations for getting on the ballot in all the states, which 'became essential electoral tools in both the Mondale and later By 1992, Ifshin had become one

of the most important figures connecting American Jewish organisations to the Democratic party. Since 1985, he had been general counsel and a director of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee, by pro-Iarael lobby. He was also on the board of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, a movement which

Some on the left of the party had renunciation of the anti-war movement. The issue remains deeply dimovement veterans who have risen to prominence within the Clinton administration.

He called on all the leading fundowed from his AIPAC days.

called on a rigidly Orthodox, syna- \$23 a barrel by April 18. gogue in Brooklyn where the wonderful occasion for me, just like

But Ifshin's surprising absence from the senior ranks of the Clinton administration was in a tragic way to Ifshin's conversion from the poll- be repaired before his death. Last

Clinton's New York campaign There have, instead, been a series efficient engines.

to a secol fixed amount of oil on the world market

The oil market is trying to calcu-November, at the time of Thanks, giving, Ifshin was told he had lung, dollars worth of Iraqi oil being put cancer. He and his wife Gail had on sale. So while waiting for Sadthree young children, and were ner- dam to make the price drop, nobody



lishin was buried amid those

There was a modest rise in the aggrieved about paying more.

When a motorist pays \$3.50 a gal- | pared with 32 barrels a head in Ger-Prime among them was Harold other echoes from the past, the old on as the British do at the petrol many, and 53 barrels a head in the ical wisdom says they get very | tion of Saudi Arabia.

\$1.12 for a gallon of unleaded and was not howled down when he India's more modest growth rates also the son of President Roosevelt's to an average \$1,28 on April 28. Al- increase to the electorate of 1992. the world's second most populous It was in 1970, as a prisoner of Secretary of the Interior), was in though in some markets such as Incidentally, every extra cent on the ination is following the consuming There is no political decision be . there would be no federal budget expected to match the consumption raisers, all the main rabbis, organised hind this latest modest increase in deficit this year. There would, in- of western Europe. lobbying teams to every synagogue, the price of gasoline. There has stead, be a surplus of about \$10 bilcashed in favour after favour he was been no Opec resolution, and no lion, and Detroit might start to lead OUBTLESS the market will new revolution in the Middle East. the world in producing lean, fuel- adjust to take care of the

> of 12 million barrels from the strate- price inflation since the 1970s. Oll, gic oil reserve. This was never after all, is only the half of it. China women were segregated behind a HERE are three immediate going to flood the market with gaso- is also importing much more food," had a hard winter, and re- pump that amount in 36 hours. But new long march from a subsistence" every Saturday night at an Arkansas | fineries produced more heating oil | it was enough to reassure an over- | diet of rice to sweet and sour pork that this had been "the most suc- retaining less refining capacity for only a presidential gesture away, . The prospect is not of a gloomy.

United Nations over the terms on the medium to long-term price rise which he will be allowed to sell a that is beginning to look inevitable.

The most important economic statistic of the decade was that, in 1994, China ceased to be a net ex-vited to stay at the White House, in: series of shortages, worse in mary chains, interesting things start hap-

China, moreover, is not the only



shortages, and increase the verged on parody. He wore a of market forces at work. The price Still, the White House knew that oil exploration rate. But the world, as more than a billion people make a

cessful Jewish offensive since the car fuel. Then there was an accident even while the Republicans de- repetition of that overdone seventice." Yom Kippur war", delivered the vic-tory, but was then eclipsed and then production at one of the biggest re-tax" of 4.3 cents a gallon, imposed in mass famines, but of steady in tory, but was then eclipsed and then production at one of the biggest to passed over for the ambassadorship fineries in California. Finally, Sad-dam Hussein is bickering with the But all this is really practice for ergy. Whereas the issue in 1973. the medium to long-term price rise that is beginning to look inevitable. There is a new market force on the block that could take oil prices back up to \$30 a barrel and filore within the next five years. pie as he drives his gas guzzler flowing some future motor way to Shangidi It is not the threat of poverty that confronts us, but the sudden and

At the time of the Yom Kippur railled round. A large trust find was at the current high price. Stocks billion people start almultaneously fought for its life against simultaneously ous attacks from Egypt and Syria; if with the Kouse, in series of shortages, worse in man. startling challenge of prosperity for billions of people, all taking place us less time than it took David Ifshin us get to the White House from his high ment of epiphany during the Yom Klippur war which provoked the first Onec price day

GUARDIAN WEEKLY May 12 1996

Swiss banks open up to Jewish groups

Ian Katz in New York

WISS bankers have greed to open their jealously guarded curtain of secrecy to allow Jewish groups lieved to have been deposited before and during the second world war by Holocaust victims. Under an agreement signed last week in New York, a team of independent auditors will be given "unfettered access to all relevant files" held by the Swiss financial institutions, where many European Jews opened accounts to protect their assets from the Nazis.

terand spirit are carried out"

Jewish organisations and rela

have been fighting for years to be allowed to search the records of wiss banks for accounts which have lain dormant since the way

have grossly underestimated the sums deposited by Holocaust

fied \$34.1 million, in some 778 accounts, which appeared to be-

Jewish organisations claim that the true figure may be as high as \$7 billion, pointing out that the Swiss Bankers'

clude accounts opened by Swis ationals who may have been acting for Jews from other European countries

Dramatic fall from grace for 'French 'saint'

Paul Webster in Paris

A BBE PIERRE, who only a month ago was seen as a living saint, has plunged from being France's most popular figure to its national pariah, accused of casting doubt on Nazi crimes against Jews. The Franciscan priest, aged 83, who smuggled Jews out of France during the second world war and in**fluenced both Socialist and Gaullist** governments, has been rejected by the Catholic Church, the Jewish community, human rights' organisations and his closest friends.

For more than 50 years, Abbé Pierre, whose real name is Henri Groues, fought a lonely battle for the poor and homeless through his world-wide Emmaus organisation.

His campaigns became enmeshed with those of three other human rights evangelists: Bernard Kouchner, the former humanitarian affairs minister; Jacques Gaillot, the former Bishop of Evreux; and Leon Schwartzenberg, a crusading cancer expert.

All three have turned on him publicly since he criticised the prosecution of philosopher Roger Garaudy, aged 83, whose book, The Founding Myths Of Israeli Politics, questions the extent of the Holocaust.

Abbé Pierre defended himself in Libération, after saying Mn Garaudy had the right to express his views. He denied accusations of anti-Semitism and called for debate on the accuracy of Holocaust research.

His defence had the effect of changing embarrassed reaction into tory, echoed the shief rabbi, Joseph Sitruk, by calling the priest's attitude "dramatio, disappointing and fui houriA" it's unacceptable", this at praint but ! The Gaullist Justice unlinister; lacques Toubon expressed official disapproval, while the Archbishop s

remained où his deskedt suit .ou



8 UK NEWS

The Week in Britain James Lewis

Howard and the judiciary continue to cross swords

HE Home Secretary, Michael | Calais route had fallen by nearly a Howard, suffered yet another fifth over the year (from 1.9 million defeat at the hands of the judiciary to less than 1.6 million) and that the ecstatic Charles Mahlangu welwhen the High Court ruled that he number of cars using the service had acted unlawfully in fixing a 15-year minimum sentence on two 292,780. Stena Sealink, the Swedish-But the boy was still cle boys who killed a two-year-old tod- owned ferry operator, which has dler, James Bulger.

revulsion. Robert Thompson and last week announced price cuts on Jon Venables, both then aged 10, abducted their victim from a Merseyside shopping centre and nies seem inevitable, but P&O and murdered him on a railway line. The Stena both deny they have any plans trial judge ordered that they be to merge. Three years ago P&O weeping Salome Stopford, aged 50, "detained at Her Majesty's plea- yielded to government demands who had unsuccessfully attempted sure", recommending that they and gave undertakings that it would to adopt him after bringing him to should serve at least eight years in not merge with rivals. It now wants Britain in 1992, ostensibly to further prison. The Lord Chief Justice in- to withdraw the undertakings, his education. creased that to 10 years and Mr | which were instigated to preserve Howard, responding to various public petitions - one drummed up by a tabloid newspaper - upped it again to 15 years.

High Court, Lord Justice Pill said it withdrew a TV programme, against me and my Mum, I want to was wrong to treat young offenders | Psychoanalysing Diana, due to have | stay here with my family. I am as though they were adults. Mr | been shown this week. The com- | Howard reacted with fury, and said mercial television station said the he would appeal against the decision. which "flew in the face of in any shape or form. judicial practice and precedent". He would even legislate, if necessary, to "preserve the supremacy of Par- lapes of a Freudian case study in family's story have been secured by liament". The likelihood is, how- which psychoanalyst Dylan Evans a South African magazine, Fair ever, that either course of action probed a Princess Diana look-alike, Lady, which has helped them with would eventually be overturned by using the princess's published their custody battle in Britain. the European Court of Human words. Rights.

long-running battle between Mr youth problems, her alienation from to a contribution to the costs of fly- and I had to sleep in the same bed Howard and the judiciary over the | Prince Charles, her love-hate rela- | ing the Mahlangu parents to Britain Home Secretary's repeated interfer- tionship with the media, her bulimia for the initial court hearing last father slept on the floor. I had to ence in sentencing and parole deci- and her desire to be the "Queen of year. sions. Last week's ruling followed a Hearts". trend set by a series of court deci- Channel 4's director of pro- Mahlangu corner in the custody The case is to be reconsidered by sions which have diluted the role of grammes, John Willis, explained: case, dismissing arguments that the the European courts next week, but the Home Secretary and the execu- "This was a very innovative concept. | boy would have had a better life in | Mrs Stopford said she was uncertive in deciding how long people convicted of murder and serious Grade and I decided that the idea "They have never, at any time, con- against the British courts' decision crimes should stay in prison.

with other teenagers, was repeat- whites than among blacks of the cident near a funfair and later died | Office report. It concludes that an in hospital. Two teenage girls, aged upsurge in drug-taking among 12 and 13, respectively, have been whites in their late teens and 20s charged with the manslaughter of means that the image of Afrothe girl, Louise Allen, of Corby, Caribbeans as having the highest Northamptonshire.

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Louise's death focused attention on violent bullying among girls, that 43 per cent of whites aged 16-29 which is said by the charity, Kid- said they have taken illegal drugs, scape, to have risen by 50 per cent | compared with 34 per cent of Afrosince 1992.

Delwyn Tattum, head of a unit at Cardiff which studies bullying, said that girls had turned to aggression. "Girls are forming their own gangs and carrying knives more," he said. "If we present women as being more aggressive and thrusting, HowARD then we must not be surprised some girls misinterpret the role of females in society today and become aggressive and violent."

HE Channel Tunnel operator, Eurotunnel, may be in severe financial difficulties - its pre-tax loss for 1995 of £925 million was one of the worst results in corporate history --- but its Le Shuttle operations are a cause of mounting concern to the rival ferry companies.

P&O reported last week that passenger numbers on its Dover-

also seen its market share dented In a crime which caused public | by Eurotunnel's Le Shuttle service, lts duty-free goods,

Mergers between ferry compa- don't want to leave mummy. competition and help Eurotunnel to establish itself.

Ruling against Mr Howard in the ANNEL 4 at the last minute help me. Everyone seems to be programme would not be broadcast

Several newspapers had savaged work as Mrs Stopford's maid there. the programme after seeing preview

In the end, [controller] Michael Britain as racist and materialist. tain what would happen if they ruled did not work."

drug use is "passing into history".

A survey conducted in 1994 found Caribbeans of the same age.



TRAUMATIC, trans-global tug-of-war between a Zulu father and an English widow came to an end on Sunday when an comed his 10-year-old son back to But the boy was still clearly trau-

matised by his departure from Britain, which was delayed on Friday last week when he was taken of a British Airways flight, crying for his would-be adoptive mother. "I

It emerged that Siliso had written

a note to the Queen, saying: "Dear Her Majesty, I want to stay here with my white mum. Can you please help me because no one else will happy here. Sifiso arrived in South Africa on | Salome Stopford with one of her | a .

The "rights" to the Mahlangu The editor of Fair Lady, Roz

The questions were said to deal | Wrottesley, said that the magazine's Underlying the Bulger case is a with the princess's childhood and financial support had been limited She strongly defended the

sell off its most important forests to | might still be hived off if that helped eventually become profitable. So to rationalise estates - although far, it has raised £208 million for the most sales would take place only Treasury from forest sales, The commission's commercial Gavin Strang, the shadow agricul- with doubts about government arm, Forest Enterprise, which owns ture minister, said: "Almost inand manages much of the country's evitably when an estate is sold, woodland, has been told to adopt access is restricted or denied." rigorous market disciplines under | • The Government is to receive a agency status granted last month. £2 billion windfall - equivalent to a Amenity groups fear that walkers | 1p cut in income tax - from taking could be banned from huge tracts of over responsibility for British Coal's land. The commission's "freedom to pension fund. roam" policy is regarded as a model for other landowners. mission, telling staff how to judge sions for miners and white-collar demand for access before estates staff, and the Treasury, said the Na- sister who are British nationals. are put on the market, have set | tional Audit Office in a report pubalarm bells ringing. While the commission says it will | privatisation.

JUARLIAN WEEKI May 12 1998

Zulu boy must leave 'white mum'

David Beresford In Johannesburg, and Alex Bellos

Mahlangu, aged 30, who used to | (right) back in South Africa

templated adoption. Their desire to now Sifiso was in South Africa.



Sunday with his mother, Selina | daughters (above), and Sifiso |

have their son back has been absolutely unflagging."

Even if South Africa offers more opportunities than it did before, Sifiso's home life will not be as comfortable as it has been in London.

He visited his parents last year and said: "They live in one room, as my mother and sister, while my bathe in a bucket and use an outside



A GIRL of 13, who went to the aid DRUG USE in Britain is "sub-of a friend embroiled in a fight D stantially higher" among young Alarm at 'privatisation by Haven found edly kicked about the head in the in- same age, according to a Home Stealth' for woodlands

Peter Hetherington

Britain's biggest landowner, is meet tough new financial targets, countryside groups said last week. After selling a tenth of its land

not sell "sensitive" areas, such as the New Forest, opponents of pri-HE Forestry Commission, vatisation believe that the "access check list" leaked to the Ramblers' facing "privatisation by stealth" to Association has been designed to tilt the balance in favour of accelerated sales.

The commission says that while it holding - 310,000 acres - since | does not wish to sell land "intenthe early 1980s, the state undertak- sively used for recreation", some ing is under growing pressure to woods of "recreational importance" where access could be guaranteed.

The fund is heading for a £4 billion surplus which will be split Guidelines prepared by the com- equally between enhanced pen- deportation. lished last week on British Coal's

for refugee

∧ NALL-NIGHT telephone A and fax marathon by the Labour MP, Bernie Grant, succeeded in persuading Guyana to give refuge to the Nigerian student Ade Onibiyo, who was due to be deported to Nigeria, writes David Pallister.

Mr Onibiyo, aged 20, flew to Guyana in South America, where Mr Grant was born, after the MP for Tottenham contacted the president, Cheddi Jagan.

The frantic efforts to find Mr Onibiyo a haven have coincided claims that Interpol in Nigeria had found his father, Adbul, # pro-democracy dissident, who had apparently disappeared after he was deported last October.

Last month, the Court of Appeal upheld a High Court ruling that the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, had not acted unlawfully in ordering the son's

Mr Ouibiyo has a brother and His mother and two younger sisters are in London but they too, face the threat of removal;





lan King

The deal, which will see about 4,000 jobs cut from the Royal's head offices in London and Liverpool, and from Sun Alliance's regional bead offices, with another 1,000 coming from foreign operations, was criticised by unions, which warned that thousands more jobs were at risk. Alan Piper, assistant general secretary of the banking and finance union Bifu, said that thousands of staff at both companies now faced months of uncer-

However, news of the merger. which will save about £175 million by 1998, was welcomed by the City, where shares in both companies soared. Royal shares closed up 67p. at 437p, valuing the group at £2.9 billion, while Sun Alliance shares jumped 55p to 414p, valuing it at £3.4 billion.

Announcing details of the merger, Royal's chief executive. Richard Gamble, who becomes group chief executive of the merged ousiness, stressed that most of the 5,000 jobs would go through natural wastage. "Most of the reduction will come from early retirement and a recruitment freeze, but there will be some voluntary redundancies." · British Telecom's dreams of creating one of the world's biggest telephone, companies collapsed last week with the failure of £33 billion merger talks with its erstwhile rival, Cable & Wireless.

Five months of tough negotiations ended after a marathon meeting of the C&W board agreed that the hurdles to a merger were too high.

Scargill makes his pitch

Michael White and Soumas Milne

RTHUR Scargill has opened A a new phase in the guerrilla war which small parties are threatening to wage against the Labour-Conservative hegemony at the coming general election.

When the miners' leader's Socialist Labour Party (SLP) was finally given its formal May Day launch last week, he hinted that he would stand against Alan Howarth at the next election if Labour imposes the Tory defector from Stratfordon-Avon on a constituency such as the Yorkshire seat of Wentworth.

ease on the left about Tony Blair's in charge. And the greatest breakleadership, the surprise is that away of all, the ex-Labour SDP, David v. Goliath politics has taken so long to re-emerge after Margaret But in the 1990s electoral reform Thatcher's charismatic grip on British politics was replaced by right, with disaffected MPs and acpragmatic muddle.

The prolonged political crisis of the 1970s led to the rise of Scots and Welsh nationalist parties, a surge of Trotskyite activism in and beyond Labour's ranks, and - briefly in the 1974 elections — a boost for the fascist National Front.

Little was heard from Tory MPs such as Douglas Hurd and Chris Patten about the need for electoral Given the unpopularity of the | reform and proportional representa- | Clarke and David Mellor to take on. | and Freedom of Information Act.

Tories under John Major and un- | tion once Mrs Thatcher was firmly

talk has returned on both left and tivists predicting splits and realignment in both major parties after the next election.

Mr Scargill has long been a supsmith, from whom he does not expect financial support.

Just as the Goldsmith-funded Referendum Party is sizing up promi-

members of Mr Scargill's SLP have already decided to challenge Tony Blair in his Sedgefield constituency and the shadow employment secretary, Michael Meacher, in Oldham

Meanwhile, Harrods owner Mohamed al-Fayed may emulate another philanthropic tradition in the family, whose good causes have long included discreet help for political think tanks.

Mr al-Fayed is looking for bright young people, "without axes to porter of PR as a vital element and is grind", to run an independent instianti-European, like Sir James Gold- | tute to examine options for constitutional reform. He will provide the "seed corn".

Options range from a slimmeddown monarchy and reformed

Insurance giant to shed 5,000 jobs

A ORE than 5,000 jobs are to be V axed as two of the best known names in the insurance business merge to create a £6.3 billion giant. Sun Alliance and Royal Insurance stunned the City last week when they revealed plans to join to create

Britaln's biggest insurance group, in an attempt to fend off fierce competition from telephone-based newcomers such as Direct Line.

Roger Lyons, general secretary of the MSF, said: "There has been no prior consultation. The 22,000 employees first heard of these draconian job losses over breakfast."

Michael Meacher, shadow employment secretary, called for inquiries by both the Office for Fair Trading and the European Commission into the proposed merger.

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(i) Stratighted by statement of the product of the local distance of the local distan the first start of the first and an end of the first second se ing aligned Daytime Tel, No._____ AFT-SE 100 sports feb 11 - he fo was 64%. Source UK Government Crobal Statutical Office Full details of Utilities 40 applies will 10 lose 1997. The 10.25% intreast rate on the Officient Step-Up After and Statutical Office Full details of Utilities 40 applies will 10 lose 1997. The 10.25% intreast rate on the Officient Step-Up After and Statutical Office Full details of Utilities 40 applies will 10 lose 1997. The 10.25% intreast rate on the Officient Step-Up After and Statutical Office Full details of Utilities 40 applies will 10 lose 1997. The 10.25% intreast rate on the Officient Step-Up After and Statutical Office Full details of Utilities 40 applies will 10 lose 1997. The 10.25% intreast rate on the Officient Step-Up After and Statutical Office Full details of Utilities 40 applies will 10 lose 1997. The 10.25% intreast rate on the Officient Step-Up After and Statutical Office Full details of Utilities 40 applies will 10 lose 1997. The 10.25% intreast rate on the Officient Step-Up After and Statutical Office Full details of Utilities 40 applies will 10 lose 1997. The 10.25% intreast rate on the Officient Step-Up After and Statutical Office Full details of Utilities 40 applies will 10 lose 1997. Middlines (Supersony) (Imited. Registered Officer Canada Court, Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006)). Enginginals Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Enginginals Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Enginginals Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Engineering the Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Engineering the Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Engineering the Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Engineering the Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Engineering the Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Engineering the Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Engineering the Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Engineering the Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Engineering the Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Engineering the Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Engineering the Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Engineering the Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, General Viewied Kin 2006). Engineering the Stablants (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, Sociality (Sociality) Uplant Load, St. Peter Fast, S Mitghines guagestry some on the latest and the latest and accounts are produite on manest. Deposits made with Booling and the Deposits made with Booling and the Deposits made with Booling and the Deposit for the UK Backing Act 1987 but, under the Boliding Society is allowing and the Deposits made with Booling and the Deposit for the UK Backing Act 1987 but, under the Boliding Society is allowing and the Deposit for the UK Backing and Ut the Deposit for the UK Backing Act 1987 but, under the Boliding Society is allowing and the Deposit for the UK Backing and Ut the UK Backing and Ut the Deposit for the UK Backing and Ut the UK Backing and Ut the Deposit for the UK Backing and Ut the Deposit for the UK Backing and Ut the Deposit for the UK Backing and Ut the Deposit for the UK Backing and Ut the UK Backing



Mr Scargill is also an outsider with a grievance. The SLP was being founded, the National Union of Mineworkers president said, because there were now "no fundamental differences between the Conservative party, New Labour and the Liberal Democrats".

UK NEWS 9

The new party, whose candidate, grocery trade, that of the Sainsbury | Brenda Nixon, won 5.4 per cent of the vote in the Hemsworth byelection in February, has been dismissed by both the Labour leadership and leftwing MPs like Ken Livingstone as irrelevant.

Mr Scargill was flanked at the launch by two London Labour councillors who have defected to Social ist Labour, Pat Sikorski of the Rail Maritime and Transport union executive, and Imran Khan, solicitor for nent Tory MPs such as Kenneth | House of Lords to a Bill of Rights | the family of the racist murder victim, Stephen Lawrence.



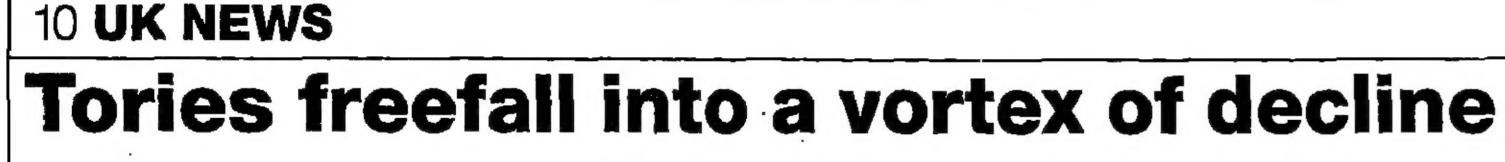
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The Conservatives are in a state of decomposition, says Hugo Young, but despite the local elections result John Major remains the best asset they have

ICHAEL Heseltine is busk-ing it on BBC TV's News-night. The local election results are appalling. Heseltine is calm, straight-eyed. He seems to relish the palpable absurdities he will now be called upon to utter. That is his job, and he knows that nobody in the Government does it as well as he does.

The results, Heseltine coolly says, are irrelevant. They tell one nothing about what is to come. But they also, in so far as they are not irrelevant, tell one that the Government's steady recovery, which has apparently been going on for 18 months, is on course. Although the measure of this recovery is a rise from 26 to 28 per cent in popular support for the Conservatives, the deputy prime minister offers his | other challenge before the election, | But they then tear him, and with | clean element of self-destruction. analysis without a trace of embarrassment. Not for a nano-second is his earnestness broken by the eyeflicker of a possibility that he might wishes to depart, and nothing is ter in this undeflectable event. For media are duly betraying him sound ridiculous.

What we're witnessing here is a Cabinet in denial. Ministers say | told. He still cares what people say | ferences were not buried, but they | ing him to fight for. Desiring an inthese things not because they be- about him. "He's not David Mellor were silenced. The semblance of a dependent Britain, the apotheosis of the request of an MP, into anything lieve them, but because, as politi- or Alan Clark, a cad or a bounder, fighting force appeared to be re- the Europhobia on which they rig the had said or done in Parliament. cians, they can't contemplate the who don't give a damn what the pa- grouping. Since the need to talk, their comment and manipulate their The Guardian argued this rendered possibility of disbelief. They've for- pers say," one of his closest allies still less vote, on anything to do with news every week, the Black and it impossible to mount a full defence gotten what it is not to be a politi- told me. Backbenchers gauge his | Europe was temporarily receding, it | Murdoch and Rothermere papers | of justification since it could not cian. They can do no other. The temper, and purport at present to seemed possible that incendiary show no sign of desisting from conmedia are their accomplices. Interviewers accommodate their mind- The outward signs say other- merits of discretion. set, even as they challenge it. wise. Unlike this time last year, Everyone helps then search for lit- every senior colleague wants him of the prospect of defeat. Nothing the glimpses of hope, if only to de- to stay in the job. He has solid sup- corrupts a party like the imminent to be sealed. It is beyond the reach thing he had done in the course of construct them.

some crises for which there is no prospect in living memory, this one remedy, and this is one of them. is unusually united. There is soli- always to be centrifugal: the ambi- players are engulied beneath the over reports of what they have done The Conservative party is in a state | darity in gloom. It's as if these minof decomposition and cannot, in isters have been through the fire fact, reverse that process. They are, and out the other side, and will To account for John if they would but recognise it, cap- allow no further anxieties to destatives to fate. I hesitate to call John bilise them. That is certainly the Major's unearthly Major a tragic figure, but he has the | case with their leader. Whether he's defining element of tragedy about | privately depressed or not, his pubhim: the forces that direct his future | lic resilience is a wonder to behold are incluctable.

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remedies suggested by those who I know something you don't know. think otherwise. There are Tories | Whatever that something is, it less seduced by professional opti- comes from the deepest well of a mism than Mr Heseltine, but what politician's self-belief. do they say? Give us strong leadership, bray one lot of backbenchers. grounds for such self-bellef. He re- cians with doctrinal positions they Get a grip, tell us where we're mains the best asset the Conserva- will not surrender. After the winter detests socialism, and isn't one of faces costs of up to £250,000. going. But at the same time, and tives have got. MORI's April poll | hull, it has become apparent to more | those who believe the Blair Labour confusingly, listen to the people and showed 15 per cent of respondents of them that the Tory party is in a party has abandoned it. He still papers. Alastair Campbell, the find out what they want. Or else, satisfied with the Government, 29 vortex of decline which they feel thinks he might be able to pull off paper's former political editor and mutter another lot, let the Euro- per cent with Major. This may be free to accelerate. As its prospects what he did in 1992. His heart fills now Tony Blair's press secretary. sceptics stop bitching. The Daily small comfort. Compared with the vanish, the Europhobes show less with unstoical resignation at the and another former Mirror journal-Telegraph, gathering itself for a per- party, rather than the Government, computction about expressing their prospect of losing power at the very ist, Andy McSmith. oration, shouts for the party to do Major is level-pegging. But many disdain for each failure by the minis-"what is bold and what is right", be- MPs, in the practical world where teriat to comply with their ever ing it. What he says about the sou's complaint was an 11-line item fore recommending an agenda that | they have to win votes, regard him | more arrogant demands. would drive half-a-dozen ministers as a name to conjure with. The In this vortex, another claim gets mostly true, and would normally be lenged Mr Allason to give the out of the Cabinet.

bears witness to the Tory predica- regarded. A rise in his personal rat- competent, and nobody can be sure But if he loses, he is ready for it. He tion to Mirror pensioners. ment. Hot air vies with self-contra- ing, as the only unifying leader for that any other government at any sees his record, above all, as hondiction to disguise a truth which, this vicious rabble, can be relied on. other time would have handled the ourable. He did the right thing, naturally, they cannot bear to face. Each element in the drama embod- answer. Mr Major is indeed the only BSE calamity more successfully that had become intolerable, doing ist, David Bradshaw, At first it was ies a problem without an answer.

Leader-ditching is the classic rem- this side of an election, that any to expect. How Major and his col- in defeat he will have one indestrucedy for a party in terminal trouble, other leader would be seen as a leagues can hope in the space of 12 tible consolation. 'He knows his was malicious in drafting the mobut he offered them the chance for preferable alternative by more than months to rectify this pervasive dis stock will rise every month for the tion, getting a Labour MP to table it. that last year and they decided not a fraction of backbenchers. They belief is unknown to anyone. to take it. Since then, party rules have to say, without irony, that he's The tragic scenario, however, is party gets into a bigger and bigger haste. Mirror Group Newspapers have been re-written to foreclose an- the best prime minister they've got. not yet complete. It lacks the Sopho- mess."



the political reality, which is that it's likely to induce him to do so.

hear that he's depressed.

We should understand there are presiding over the worst election His standard demeanour gives off a Consider, to begin with, the comfortable little smirk, which says

The fact is that Major has

but this obstacle matters less than | him their own prospects, to pleces. | But that isn't far away either, among For the party, too, is gripped by the raucous noises-off. As the choin Major's hands alone whether he | inner forces. It is the second charac- | rus to Major's fate, his friends in the | Guardian was stayed by the courts the first three months of the year, a | and helping produce the opposite He is prone to black moods, I'm | certain discipline came over it. Dif- | world from the one they keep askvoices might continue to see the duct calculated to ensure the elec-

This was to misjudge the effects provide it.

worse the Conservative party be- washed swiftly down the plughole. enough for victory. This is the best they can do, and haves, the more decently is Major All governments are more or less inGUARDIAN WEBLY May 12 1998

calm in the face of adversity, his friends explain that he has already bowed to fate

tion of the party least likely to would give an individual MP the

Thus is fate now beginning finally | wished the court to inquire into anyport at the top. For a Cabinet that's | withdrawal of power. Power, we | of facts and events, policies and | his parliamentary duties, have to re-learn, is the cement that promises, tax cuts and real disposbinds together what otherwise tend able income. The destinies of the will allow MPs to sue newspapers tions and rivalries of party politi- least rebuttable of all perceptions: in relation to their parliamentary their own presence on the stage. | activities, but absolute privilege will The jury seems to have decided. Be- | still protect MPs from being sued cause they exist, and have done for | over what they have said or done in 17 years, they must now depart. | Parliament. This is the verdict hardly any politician can accept. But that doesn't | lason, the Tory MP for Torbay, last oblige outsiders to do the same.

One man may be a hold-out | malicious falschood against the against the collective fantasies of his | Daily Mirror, but the judge found deputy and his party chairman. If | that the newspaper had published you ask John Major's friends to ac- an inaccurate story about him that count for his unearthly calm in the | was prompted by malice. face of adversity, their explanation is that he has already bowed to fate.

He will fight a hard election. He suffered financial loss. The MP economy's comparative strength is which said that 50 MPs had chan

However, that is a problem not an huge conflicting pressures of the often to good effect. He rode a party unifier. But look at what unity he than this one. But competence is everything he could to keep it in the signed by only seven MPs and the At the apex is John Major. has achieved. It is unimaginable, something the people have ceased real world. According to his friends, story was therefore inaccurate. next 10 years, as the Conservative and seeking to publish the story in

Bill may give MPs new right to sue

Patrick Wintour

C ENIOR judges and Tory peers. O with the help of the Govern ment, have introduced a bill to give MPs and peers a right to sue newspapers over reports of their parlia-mentary activities in the wake of a court ruling preventing Neil Hanilton, Tory MP for Tatton, from suing the Guardian.

The new measures, in the Defamation Bill, will, said the Lord Chancellor, Lord Mackay, give Mr Hamilton the opportunity to restart his action. Mr Hamilton felt forced to resign from the Government after publication of the story.

The previously unnoticed measures have been tabled in the Defamation Bill by Lord Finsberg, a Tory peer, and Lord Hoffmann, a Lord of the Appeal in Ordinary, Although the Government is claiming a neutral stance, the Leader of the Lords, Viscount Cranbourne, has won special dispensation from peers for the amendment to be debated at the bill's third reading.

Mr Hamilton's attempt to sue the after the newspaper successfully pleaded the privileges conferred on MPs by the Bill of Rights 1689 meant that a court could not inquire, even at cross-examine Mr Hamilton.

Lord Hoffmann's new clause right to waive that privilege if he

If the amendment is passed, it

Durid Pallister writes: Rupert A week lost his High Court action for

Mr Allason's claim fell because he was unable to prove that he had

He had such Mirror Group News

£250,000 damages he had just re-If he wins, he will be a great hero. ceived from the Mirror in a libel ac-

The article was based on a Commons early day motion which has been conceived by a Mirror journal

But the judge said Mr Bradshaw, were equally motivated by malice GUARDIAN WEEKLY May 12 1995

Warning of 'meltdown' as | Hopes fade of an end to European beef ban **NHS trusts fight squeeze**

David Brindle

EADERS of NHS trusts have Health Secretary, that the health service is facing the deepest crisis since the Government introduced the internal market.

One trust chief executive has said financial pressures are so severe that there is a prospect of "meltdown" in parts of the service.

The problems come after a winter of bed shortages in many areas, recalling the annual crises which the introduction of contracts between hospital and community trust providers was supposed to end.

Trouble next winter in the run-up common consent, the most difficult and authorities since the market started in 1991.

The Government has given au-"efficiency savings" of 3 per cent.

health care, while keeping waiting times no longer than 12 months. many authorities have asked trusts to deliver more care for little or no increase in their contract price.

Disputes have broken out across the country and many contracts remain unsigned six weeks into the financial year. In east London, nonemergency hospital appointments have been frozen because of a stand-off between the Newham Healthcare trust and its local health uthority.

In Scotland, the Raigmore hospi-tal trust in Inverness told the High-week after the formal agricult land health board to state publicly which services it was expected to cut to meet a standstill budget.

According to the NHS Trust Federation, which met Mr Dorrell last health authority purchasers and week, problems are "worse than

to a spring general election is fore- trust, is quoted in the federation's shadowed by what has been, by newsletter as having described the position as "extremely grave". He contracting round between trusts | warned of "meltdown in a number of areas in the health service in the not-too-distant future".

Mr James is said to have told the some of whom claimed car mileage 1996/97, a real increase in funding of tween purchasers and providers, company cars. 1.1 per cent. But it has again ordered amounting to millions of pounds. These problems are real and seri-To meet spiralling demand for ous. They are not shroud-waving."

> rector, said the deputation which had seen Mr Dorrell had left him in difficulties facing trusts.

Stephen Bates in Brussels

THE Government's hopes of securing at least a part lifting of the European Union ban on British beef receded on Monday as Douglas Hogg, the Agriculture Minister, lobbied his fellow ministers at an informal meeting in the Italian city of Otranto.

That meeting is not empowered to take decisions on lifting week after the formal agriculture council in Luxembourg, when Britain was warned that further measures would be needed.

Beef sales have slumped

across Europe by an average of

the year.

Veterinary experts from all 15 member states were due to me in Brussels this week, but they will not be formally discussing the beef crisis or a lifting of the embargo on byproducts. To do so, they would require a recommendation from the European

Richard James, chief executive of the Gloucestershire-based Severn Inland Revenue tax break for Tory MPs

David Hencke

HE Inland Revenue has granted a £400,000 tax amnesty to about 20 Conservative MPs,

At the heart of the issue are the Inland Revenue's action. parliamentary rules governing the for three company cars at different addresses has saved more than

the day of publication for the first with the Board of Inland Revenue. Register of MPs' Interests based on As a result the board absolved these new rules following the Nolan committee report on sleaze.

Details of the tax amnesty came to light after a retired tax inspector. hospital and community services in hearing about huge differences be- liamentary business while using and directors' income tax, com-

generous 60p to 74p mileage rates | Records Office by the Nolan com- | fecting MPs' car allowances. Ross Tristem, the federation's di- | for MPs. One Tory MP who claimed | mittee, he says: "I was personally involved during 1993 and 1994 in the aftermath of approaches by a numno doubt about the severity of the E30,000 in tax, interest and penalties. ber of MPs to a government minis-The revelation came on Tuesday. | ter who intervened on their behalf

In Brief

OHN MAJOR'S fragile one seat majority was under fresh pressure when it was disclosed that a Tory backbencher, Roy Thomason, has been given a one-month deadline to start repaying his £6 million debts or face bankruptcy proceedings.

COMMONS select commit-Hee looking at gun control following the Dunblane tragedy has been told by the British Medical Association that giving psychological examinations to people applying for gun licences would be pointless because no tests existed to predict murderous behaviour.

Comment, page 12

1.1.1.1.1.

HE LORD Chief Justice, Lord Taylor, is to retire after being diagnosed as suffering from cancer. He will continue his administrative duties until a successor is appointed.

THE benefits of the £100 mil-Ilon Newbury bypass in Berkshire will be wiped out within a decade, according to a transport document due to be published next week by Berkshire county council.

COUR people found out they are HIV positive after previously being told they were clear of the Aids virus on the basis of a faulty Abbott IMX test.

COLLEGE administrator who was sacked for undergoing a sex change is to claim a: six-figure sum in compensation from Cornwall county council and first floor window.

after the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg ruled that her dismissal was unlawful.

THE sacked former directorgeneral of the Prison Service, Derek Lewis, is to be given a £215,000 pay-off by the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, in settlement of his court action for unfair dismissal,

D OUGLAS HOUGHTON, who has died aged 97, was one of the few survivors in Parliament of the first world war --- an experience which shaped many of his later concerns. He was a loyal supporter of Harold Wilson but always his own man.

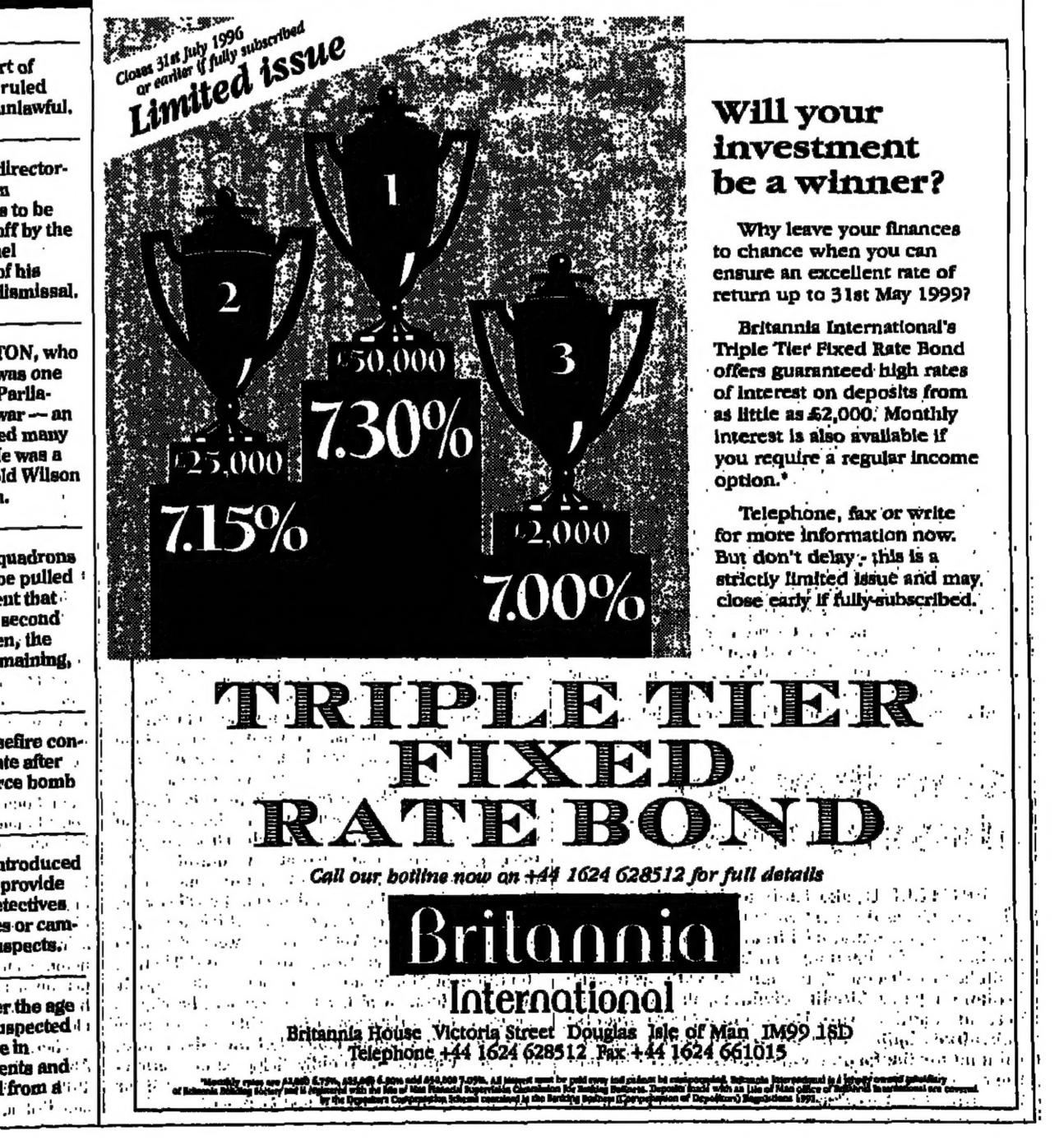
HE last four RAF squadrons in Germany are to be pulled out, ending a deployment that began at the end of the second world war. RAF Bruggen, the only British air base remaining, will close in 2002. 1 P. 19 11 1

HE LOYALIST ceasefire continued to disintegrate after an Ulster Volunteer Force bomb hoax at Dublin airport. englist I ships to de la sette a sangest topos

the second se A CRIME bill to be introduced Hin the autumn will provide statutory powers for detectives. to plant listening devices or cameras in the homes of suspects. way the plate match accel

OUR children under the age of 13 died after a suspected arson attack on a house in Southampton. The parents and i an elder sister escaped from a

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commissioner, during a visit to China.

Teresa Gorman, the Eurosceptic Tory MP, described the grant as "ludicrous gesture politics".

MPs from liabilities to income tax. interest, and, very likely in some cases, penalties as well."

Treasury ministers are livid thorities in England £23.2 billion for | federation's ruling council: "We are | and depreciation allowances for par- | David Benny, who handled MPs' | about Mr Benny's complaint but do not deny a meeting between Tory plained to Lord Nolan about the MPs and Stephen Dorrell, then fi nancial secretary to the Treasury. In a letter placed in the Public on the general point of tax law af-

Michael Jack, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, said: "The ministers concerned and the Inland Revenue are clear that members did not receive more favourable fax treatment.

12 COMMENT Spies and the ballot box

PY CLAIMS and speculation that the Russian Tresidential election may be postponed has in the history of civilisation". It established the dramatically revived the dark art of Kremlinology. In both areas it is not so much what is said but how it is said that requires extensive analysis. The obeying orders". Yet, as Richard Goldstone, the case of the alleged British spies has been denied | South African judge and chief prosecutor at the by the Foreign Office. They are absolutely right, of Hague tribunals for both Yugoslavia and Rwanda, course. Everyone knows that British diplomats has said: "The hope of 'never again' became the keep their eyes open, the American ones gather in- reality of again and again." Atrocities indicted as telligence, and it is only the Russians who actually crimes at Nuremberg have gone unpunished, spy. In real life it would be amazing if no one in the Algeria, Cambodia, Vietnam, East Timor, Iraq, and British embassy in Moscow were working for MI6 | elsewhere. The permanent members of the (the only question is how many). With the election Security Council have supplied arms knowing they in a month's time, inside political information would be used, not only in war but also against gained by snooping of one kind or another will be ethnic minorities. So why did the Security Council more than usually prized. Nor should it be forgotten that both Russia and Britain have a vested in- answer is embarrassment tinged, perhaps, with terest in keeping a close watch on each other as guilt. Here, in Europe, was ethnic cleansing, photocompetitive members of the nuclear club. The graphs of concentration camps reminiscent of the question remains why the publicity head of the successor to the KGB should have announced Moscow's "stern protest" at the use of the British embassy for "illegal spying activities". Could this German Major War Criminals", gave away its by any chance be intended to pick up the patriotic vote for Boris Yeltsin?

Until Mr Yeltsin spoke out on Monday, repudiat- ing out the crimes to build cases against the ing the remarks of his security chief General Alexander Korzhakov, there were some doubts as | Defence lawyers are already arguing that it will | with old enemies and the creation of | but whose agriculture is always on to whether voting would take place at all on June | hand down "victors' justice", ignoring the "dirty | a new framework for government | the edge of viability. It has minerals, 16. Gen Korzhakov, who had said that bloodshed hands" of their prosecutors. In talks at the UN that has until now occupied so much notably gold, but always, somehow, might follow unless the elections were postponed, about setting up a permanent international crimi- time and taken so much energy. more difficult to extract than those is no loose cannon. His views have prevailed on nal court, the US, Britain and France are insisting There may be some continued wran- in other mineral-rich countries. It the president over such critical issues as oil export | that the court must be a creature of the Security policy and the war in Chechenia. The notion of de- | Council. To be credible and effective, a permanent laying the election has already been floated by court must be self-standing and independent. lower-ranking officials, and Russian millionaire bankers and industrialists have also called for "compromise" between Mr Yeltsin and his com-Handguns must

Gen Korzhakov also followed up his first warn-Gen Korzhakov also followed up his first warn-ing with a second statement in an interview with a be banned now Russian news agency on Sunday. Was Mr Yeltsin really unaware of his aide's intention? On Monday the president said he had told Gen Korzhakov not to "get involved with politics". It is hardly surpris- The Unmagnificent Six appeared to be meta- those who have to try to clean it up. | land ownership, and to keep affiring that some analysts will suspect there is more to morphosing into the Responsible Sextet. No other The anxieties and fears of whites, mative action in industry, governthe story, especially since Mr Yeltsin says he group of UK ministers has been so ready to shoot and of all middle-class South ment, and academic life to a shares the view that a victory for Mr Zyuganov from the hip as the current Home Office gang. "would start a civil war". It may suit his purpose to Years of patient legislative preparation by prede- around the autocracy that people have Gen Korzhakov raise the political tempora- cessors have been torn up, shredded and tossed now sense in Nelson Mandela and industry could damage the courture and then present himself as insisting on the aside by the Michael Howard band. Yet last week around the enigmatic Thabo Mbeki, try's productive base, and its educademocratic process - so long as people vote the one of the most unreconstructed members of the his likely successor. right way.

Those published at the weekend showed him run- against knee-jerk legislation. Guns provide the exning neck-and-neck with Mr Zyuganov or slightly planation. Seven weeks on from the killing of 16 from the barbed wire that decorates ahead. A month ago he was trailing by at least six | children and their teacher at Dunblane, ministers | the suburbs to the falling rand. The points. However, Russian commentators warn that have already begun to fudge on tighter gun control. desperate scale of the problems that voters have managed to disprove the polls already Doubters should listen to David Mellor, a former - particularly in the 1993 parliamentary election | Conservative Home Office minister at the time of when the extreme nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky | the Hungerford shootings, who has rightly warned did far better than expected. This time, too, voters | of time running out on gun law reform, may be reluctant to reveal their intention to vote for an outspoken opposition candidate. There are Home Office (and Scottish Office) ministers sub- public that is the nightmare of white certain. He is consolidating his postalso auspicions that the system of counting the mitted to Lord Cullen's inquiry into the Dunblane and black. But, in trying to measure ition, and there have been casualties, votes, which is dominated by the president's peo- shootings; "I personally think it was a serious these doubts and worries, it is including his rival for the succesple, may prove shaky. Many Russians believe that | error for the Home Office to queue up in front of | worth remembering that insecurity | sion Cyril Ramaphosa, and a particthere has been falsification before. No one expects | Lord Cullen to put to him policy proposals that are has been a constant in South African | ularly able minister, Pallo Jordan; Mr Yeltsin to win outright in the first round. The really a matter for government to determine." And politics from the beginning. second round - a run-off presumably with Mr so say all of us. Or almost all except the Home The attempt to create stability out Zyuganov - is seen as much more vulnerable. Office ministers involved. David Maclean de- of unpromising materials is the cen- what they used to be. Monday's statement will not quell the speculation: fended the delay by insisting "all the main parties | tral strand of the country's history. meanwhile the Russian people await more important answers - about jobs, prices and the crisis of production - which Mr Yeltsin cannot deliver.

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Were they just obeying orders?

tory. He is the first person since Nuremberg prohibited but handguns, most of which are semi- cluding immigrant labour, and the Party's terrible ideological adven-50 years ago to stand trial in an international court automatic, were not. Yet handguns were also used achievement of a social and eco- ture, which abandoned what 'reon charges of crimes against humanity. Tadic, the by Michael Ryan at Hungerford - and Thomas nomic stability satisfactory to that mained of human solidarity in a "butcher of Prijedor", is charged with systematic Hamilton in Dunblane - to commit their gristy perennial arbiter of South African harsh country in favour of a brutal brutality against Muslim civilians, including mur- mass murders. In at least one respect handguns history, the "outside investor", were seizure of the majority's assets. The der, rape, and torture. He is among more than 50 | are even more dangerous than rifles - the ease | elements then as they are now. individuals indicted by the international criminal with which they can be concealed. Just like a rifle, tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. Others include they are capable of rapidly firing many rounds Above all, racial reconciliation in they are approached. In spite of all Boanian Croats and Muslims, as well as Radovan without reloading. We should not need to wait for 1910 was narrowly between Boer the changes, that remains the meet Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb leader, and General Cullen. They should be banned for thwith.

Ratko Mladic, his military commander, who are indicted on 16 counts, including genocide.

Before the international community congratulates itself on this initiative, potentially of huge significance, we should consider the legacy of Nuremberg. Lord Shawcross, Britain's chief prosecutor, hailed the Nuremberg trial as a "milestone principle of individual responsibility for state crimes, that it was not enough to say "we were just agree to act on the former Yugoslavia? The short Holocaust, harrowing accounts of massacres, torture, and rape. Public opinion demanded action.

The very title of the Nuremberg trial, limitations. Goldstone describes his strategy as investigating "lower-level persons involved in carry- burden that was too much to bear. leaders". Time will tell if the tribunal will succeed.

MIRACULOUS conversion occurred last week. made the mess can now criticise them lower, to preserve patterns of team, David Maclean, who is so ready to resort to Mr Yeltain is doing slightly better in the polls. | knee-jerk reactions he is rarely let out, spoke out

Mellor was blunt about the 35 options which fied, a harbinger of the banana re- Business likes him, liberals are unhave said we must resist knee-jerk legislation". For all the differences between pre- be best served by continued argu-

Of course it was right to set up the Cullen in- vious regimes and the country's ment, in and out of government, quiry. Of course it is right for ministers to submit first multi-racial and democratic that is conscious of South Africa's evidence. But if ministers were serious about government, there are unexpect- needs and fragilities. The countrys tighter controls, they would have acted this seasion. Gun control is one issue where ministers do need to move with the tide. Although the British gun lobby is not as formidable as its American cousin, it remains a powerful body. This is why so is being recreated, revolve around ing a livelihood in the sub-continent. many gaps remain in current UK controls. Take similar themes and similar dangers. the biggest one of all: in 1988, as a response to the Racial reconciliation, centralisation tion was sundered by agricultural HIS WEEK Dusko Tadic took his place in his- Hungerford shootings, semi-automatic rifles were of power, the question of labour, in- modernisation and by the National

GUARDIAN WEEKLY May 12 1994

South African dream still lies in the balance

Martin Woollacott

HEN historians reassess Whe South African revolu-V tion, they may well decide that the old regime gave up less because of pressure from its enemies. or because it belatedly realised its | isfics the foreign investor is the exown wrongdoing, than because the inexorable forces of population growth and urbanisation were be- | Today, it would be a more complex, yond its capacity to control.

The twisted form that modernisation took in South Africa turned impulses experienced by all societies, the mechanisation of agriculture and the movement to the cities, into the engines of truly menacing social changes. The National Party handed over power at precisely the moment when power had become a

Problems now stand at the centre of affairs, displacing the negotiation gling over the constitution, and there | can support a substantial manufac will be a multi-party government of turing industry but one that has national unity for a while longer. But | usually been of mediocre quality. It the African National Congress will has exhibited a constant depensoon squarely face their legacy of dence on outside investment, and vast social dysfunction, grotesque | could become the prey of internaunder-education, and armed anger.

White South Africans are now relieved, as a group, of both guilt and responsibility for those problems. In those who want to defend the status an ironic transformation, those who quo, to keep wages low or drive Africans of other colours, centre | minimum, But it is also true that the

In spite of the miracle of the negotiated revolution, signs of insecurity are everywhere in South Africa. face the country seem to demand a super-effective government.

Thus, every hint of corruption or incompetence can become, magni-

edly close parallels with the past.

when South Africa was created, and gling oppression with intimacy, in constitution making in 1996, when it response to the difficulties of mak-

There are also great differences,

blacks. Labour, then, was scarce. whereas now there is an embarrassment of it, yet the question of labour at a "proper price" is as central today as it was 90 years ago.

The broad danger, too, is the same: that the price for stability which appeases local elites and satclusion of some large part of the population. Then, it was all blacks. graded, exclusion of some sections of the black population. To say that this is a danger of which anybody in South Africa is unaware would be nonsense. It is the danger of which they are most aware.

But being aware does not mean that it is easily avoided. Again, what links 1910 and 1996 is South Africa's curious combination of wealth and vulnerability. It is a semi-arid country which can be made to grow food and fibre in prosperous quantities tional capitalism.

The fragility of South African wealth is a weapon in the hands of wrong policies on the land or in tional and professional standards are equally at risk.

LIE NEED to steer a truly skilled course between these rocks is what makes the competence of ANC government so critical. Mr Mandela is a great man, one whose work is almost done. Mr Mbeki is a shadowy figure, outlines sketched by rumour and anecdote. There are signals that debate and participation within the ANC are not

Yet the future of South Africa will history displays a strand of racial co Constitution making in 1910, operation and common culture, min-

This imperfect cross-racial tradifragilities of South Africa can drive division or unity, depending on how and Briton, and at the expense of sage of its history.

Although expected to pay up, the European Union (EL) had to be content with sitting in as an observer at the negotiating table. Thanks to the French intervention, the EU has now managed to reinforce its role in the region. There is every justification for this, not only in the case of France — a country whose ties with Lebanon go back a long way

GUARDIAN WEEKLY May 12 1996

Paris insists on a role in Lebanon deal

COMMENT

TRANCE'S persistence even-**F** tually allowed it to play its part in the solution to the crisis in Lebanon. Along with Washington, Beirut and Damascus, Paris will form part of the international group" charged with monitoring the ceasefire that came into force on April 27 is respected. That alone should be a matter of satisfaction.

Sceptics will argue that it was the United States that played the decisive role in the settlement and will be chiefly responsible for its execution. And it was to Washington that Lebanon and larael pledged to respect the new rules of the military game as defined by the agreement. That deal more or less provides for a return to the status quo in force before the inglorious, as well as lethal and destructive, operation carried out by Israeli forces in Lebauon. The US was careful not to make any promises about chipping in to help rebuild the civilian infrastructure destroyed by Israeli bombardment. As has happened before in the Middle East, it is the Europeans who are

going to have to dip into their pockets. In this respect, the French intervention in the conflict, initially greeted with enormous scepticism, was significant. The Europeans have long resented the way the US tends to monopo-

lise the role of mediator in the Middle East peace process and restricts their contribution to that of peacetime bankrollers with no say in the course of events.



Mourners in Lebanon at a funeral in Qana last week for many of the 102 victims of an Israeli attack on a UN compound PHOTO. ALINOHAMER

— but as regards Europe as a whole, which extends over so much of the Mediterraneau coastline.

All this has not been much to the liking of the US. Washington only reluctantly agreed to allow Paris to play the role it did. Right to the end, the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, did his best to elbow his French opposite number, Hervé de Charette, out of the bargaining process.

President Jacques Chirac stuck to his guns, apparently determined to give substance to his ambitions in the Arab and Mediterranean arena - ambitions he outlined during his visit to Lebanon and Egypt in April.

But there were limits to the role France could play. Because it did no more than act generally in favour of a settlement, rather than work specifically as a mediator. France would not have been in the monitoring group had not Syria and Lebanon insisted that it should.

se Monde

Israel, which trusts neither France nor Europe, did not want the French involved. That is why the EU finds the Middle East situation such hard going. If you want to act as a mediator, earn a place at the negotiating table and promote the peace process on an equal footing with the US, you need to be approached by both warring parties and to be in a position to lean on both of them

Despite the positive role played by Paris in this latest tragic chapter of Lebanese history, that is not true of either France or the EU. (April 28/29)

Christine Legrand in Buenos Aires and Henri Tinca

N A document published or April 27 in Buenos Aires, the Argentine Catholic Church asked "forgiveness for the misdeeds that could be attributed to it". The had not been active enough in preventing the repression by the miliin the 1970s, which resulted in thou-"disappeared". Human rights organisations put the number of victims who died or disappeared during the seven years of military terror at 30.000.

This belated admission of guilt bishops made the following confession: "We did not succeed in measuring the gravity of the malady that was attacking the fabric of society. We erred out of a lack of realism."

That inadequate declaration was publicly criticised. The April 27 given for the mistakes it made during the 1970s. It accepts that "Catholics justified systematic vio-"immoral and atrocious" acts of repression against guerrillas, acts all sections of society." "which shame us all".

Church as an institution, stressing Catholic activists were active in guerrilla movements as well as in the security forces. The silence, not to say con-

nivance, of the Argentine episcopate during the military dictatorship remains a mystery, particularly when it is compared with the response of the Chilean and Brazilian bishops, who were much more willing to attack their military regimes. Argentine bishops were such

Khartoum struggles to keep southern city

Jean Hélène in Juba

1.300km away has been the airlift protected convoy of boats. put in place when the second rebellion in the south began 13 years ago. a typical sprawling African city, consisting mainly of mud and straw huts with a sprinkling of administrative buildings, churches, mosques and aid agency encampments. There are barracks everywhere ---it is thought 50 per cent of the population is made up of soldiers.

inhabitants of Juba, the largest city international airport, almost as busy The government thought it vital to mines during the night." in southern Sudan. The city's life- as Khartoum's, and on the White hang on to a city it sees as symbolisline to the capital, Khartoum, Nile, plied by the occasional heavily

Paulino Laku Kedia, assistant from the bustling, overcrowded guerrilla forces have cut off roads to along the Kit river, 60km south of passed to the rebels. Arab cities of the north. It looks like | the north and to all neighbouring | the city. countries except Zaire.

Even though the SPLA is not enough to shell the town on four oc- regular troops control the environs bered with horror. casions since 1988.

of Juba as far as Yei, which lies Although fertile, the surrounding:

road to Zaire. "You don't need an escort to drive Juba is isolated in the middle of | The situation has been particu- there," says an aid worker. "But bush controlled by the Sudan Peo- larly precarious since the SPLA's make sure you're not the first per-L first cargo aircraft wakes up the pends for its survival on its which caused panic in Khartoum. ing, just in case rebels have laid

The ubiquitous security services | can work the land. ing Sudanese unity. So it pulled out keep a very close eve on all expatri-

right at the city gates, Juba is under | vealed the existence of a new al- | rulhless crackdown that ensued is . from 1972 to 1983. slege. Its inhabitants fear being liance between the SPLA and still fresh in everyone's mind. The But neither that ploy nor the

13

Church regrets its role in 'dirty war'

zealous supporters of the regime that they even censored the celebrated prayer in the magnificat, which goes: "He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble and meek."

Their attitude was all the more surprising because Argentina was Church fathers admitted that they one of the Latin American countries, along with El Salvador, where the Church was hardest hit by civil war. tary regime during the "dirty war" One of its bishops, Mgr Angelleli, died in a mysterious car accident in 1976. Eleven priests and two must were murdered by security forces. And dozens of priests, seminarists, monks and lay preachers were imprisoned and tortured, or simply "disappeared".

Yet the Argentine episcopate comes a few months after the moth- which is deeply divided in its attiers of a number of the "disap- tude to that period, has not said a peared" wrote to the Pope asking | single word about that grisly record. him to get the Argentine Church to | Only a tiny minority of liberalmake its position clear. A first step | minded bishops, led by Mgr Miguel was taken in December, when the Hesayne, Archbishop of Viedma. has made any public attempt at facesaving. When the Pope visited Viedma in 1987. Mgr Hesavne made critical remarks about the Church. "which has not identified with the poor or the persecuted".

It took almost 10 more years for statement is clearer. The episcopate the Church in Argentina to come repents and "humbly" asks to be for- around to making a collective confession of guilt.

"This document makes a contribution to the pacification of Argenlence", and highlights the participa- | tine society," said Senator Eduardo tion of "many sons of the Church" in | Vaca of the ruling Justicialist Party. "Its attitude should be imitated by

Members of human rights organ-Argentines have been waiting for isations, however, feel that the this kind of document for 20 years. Church "has minimised its responsi-But it does not accept any direct re- | bilities". They reject the bishops' atsponsibility on the part of the l tempt to put guerrilla warfare and state terrorism on the same level by instead the fact that priests and referring to the responsibility of "sons of the Church" in both camps.

The Nobel Peace Prize winner, Adolfo Perez Esquivel, said: "It's the theory of the two devils. The Church does not accept that there were victims of the military crackdown who had no connections at all with either camp." He regards the document as "totally watered-down" and says it is full of "evasive and uncourageous language".

(May 2)

150km southwest of the city on the countryside has been deserted as a result of the war, and Juba would survive for only three months at most on local farm output. In an atternot to reduce this costly reliance VERY morning the drone of the ple's Liberation Army (SPLA). It de- major offensive in early November, son to take that road in the morn- on food from outside, local government officials are granted two "farming days" a week so that they

Sudan's Muslim leaders are still all the stops to keep control of Juba: | ates and visitors, and local Inhabi- trying to divide the Christian and an airlift of nine daily flights over a tants are nervous of being seen animist African tribes. They have governor of Bahr al-Jebel state, five-week period made it possible to talking to foreigners. Few people been exploiting the hostility felt by Juba, half of whose 180,000 inhab- claims the province has been virtu- bring in enough troops, food and are allowed outside Juba's peri- the Bari and the Madi, the main itants are refugees, is very different ally liberated, though he admits that equipment to check a rebel advance meter, to prevent information being local tribes in Juba, towards the Dinka (the largest ethnic group in In June 1992 the SPLA came southern Sudan and in the rebel But the fall of Pochala, on the close to taking Juba, after infiltrat-: army), who dominated them during Ethiopian border, in March re- ing it with a "fifth column". The the south's period of semi-autonomy

> bombarded by rebel forces, which Ethiopia. This could prove danger- so-called White House, where inter- SPLA's divisions have given a decihave succeeded in getting close ous even if, for the time, being, rogations took place, is remem- sive advantage to the Islamist regime in Khartoum. (May 2)

14 Le Monde / ASIA Changing times leave Japan's pensioners out in the cold

Philippe Pons in Tokyo

HE couple were found dead L in their car, huddled together in Shin Kiba, near an industrial zone east of Tokyo. Aged about 60, they had died of cold and undernourishment. The woman had apparently outlived her partner by a week.

They had been living in the car for four years. After being evicted from their flat because they could no longer afford the rent, they had packed what remained of their belongings into the car, an old model that suggested they must once have had a more affluent lifestyle, and set off to begin a new life as "travellers" in the big city.

When the man could no longer find odd jobs, the petrol ran out and the car came to a halt. An employee of a supermarket near where the car was parked, its tyres flat and windows covered with newspaper, remembers that two weeks before the bodies were found the woman had asked for some water. Neighbours said she had been a piano teacher. The

couple's only possessions were a gas ring but no gas, some blankets and a few coins.

The proportion of elderly among the homeless in affluent Japan highlights the shortcomings of a system that is supposed to care for those who are no longer productive.

Anyone wishing to benefit from the state pension scheme must have contributed for at least 25 years. After 40 years' contributions, he or she is entitled to \$680 a month. Those who have failed to contribute, or have not contributed enough, can apply for support to local authorities." But they must prove they are destitute and have no family. Many prefer to exclude themselves from society, and end up living under canvas in parks or in cardboard boxes in cellars or subways

When France was brought to a standstill in December 1995 by strikers determined to hang on to their entitlements, there was a widespread feeling in Japan that France must be a very rich country if it could afford to do that kind of thing.



Filial devotion used to be the keystone of a Japanese system of | old people's homes. values bequeathed by Confucianism, but it has not survived urbanisation and the loosening of family ties: today, 85 per cent

Cambodia's Chinese start to smile again

Jean-Claude Pomonti in Phnom Penh reports on the economic clout of an ethnic minority

U IS a happy old man. Every morning, he crosses the boulevard to get a better look at his newly built four-storey hotel. In a few months' time, when the interior decoration is finished, his children will organise a lavish inauguration.

Lu will not find it easy to fill his hotel. Since UN observers pulled out at the end of 1993, Phnom Penh's hotels have suffered from excess capacity. Room prices have gone through the floor, and several hotels have had to close.

But Lu is not too worried. With the security situation greatly improved, tourists are beginning to had emigrated when he was four, creep back. His 30-room hotel is well located in the centre of the Khmer capital, and has a good selection of dance halls, massage parlours and bars within walking distance. His a problem. Chinese community life sociation of South East Asian Nachildren's future is assured.

Lu, who is a member of Cambodia's ethnic Chinese community, is | by hostilities in 1970, there were lucky to be alive. He had a small grocery store before Cambodia was Cambodia, 200,000 of them in ravaged by war. When the Khmer Rouge emptied Phnom Penh of its population in 1975, he was sepa- ernment puts their present number nouk said in February that deforrated from his family. Tens of thou- | at 300,000, with 80 per cent concensands of ethnic Chinese died, and as trated in the capital because several to the country's survival as warfare. packed with punters, who make for such that any reversal of their forbouring Vietnam.

clearing camp on the Thai border, nese in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Cambodia's business regulations re- city's more than 10,000 prostitutes, sons and his nephew are, after all, somehow managed to survive. Bangkok and Hong Kong. They main ill-defined. It is therefore vital many of them children. Three golf old enough now to keep the family When the Vietnamese army occu- control the gold trade in the capi- to have good contacts. In that re- courses backed by foreign capital, concern on a profitable course. pied Cambodia in 1979, over- tal's central market. Chinese stalls spect the Chinese have a decisive are due to open this year. running the Khmer Rouge, he spent are prominent in other smaller mar- advantage: they know the lie of the six months trying in vain to trace kets in Phnom Penh and provincial land and its politicians. his family. Then came what he de- towns. Their signs, usually red and scribes as "the happiest day of my gold, are increasingly often written into Cambodia fast. The Taiwanese town, provisionally called Chinalife" when he arrived in the town of in Chinese characters. Kompong Thom. There, in the Teng Boo Ma, president of Cam- tial investment of \$26 million in an south of Phnom Penh, with the aim home of one of the few Chinese liv- bodia's new chamber of commerce office equipment factory. Other Tai- of taking in up to 200,000 overseas ing there, he was reunited with his and reportedly the wealthiest man wanese firms have obtained licences Chinese, in particular those who de-

| His wife and other daughter had | Of the 24 people who sit on the | on six channels. The Thais and Sindied of malnutrition and disease.

Lu returned with his four children to Phnom Peuli, where he met a nephew who had occupied a twostorey building and an adjoining schools and restored five temples in patch of waste land in the centre. Lu Phnom Penh. took over the city land and set up a stall selling bowls of Chinese soup. He saved enough to build a wooden For the next two or three years | enough money to go into business

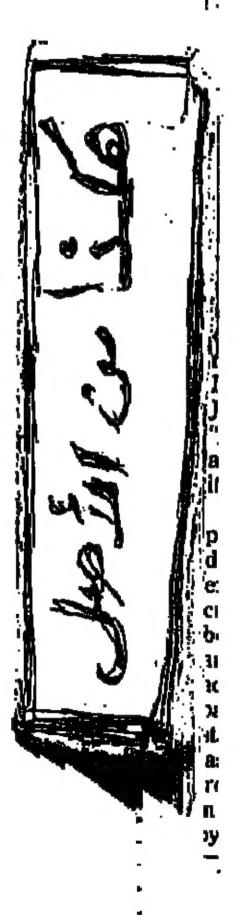
a woman 20 years his junior who and business make good bedfellows. unpopular. could look after him in his old age

In 1994 he revisited Canton, the Chinese city from which his parents and located some distant cousins.

As Chinese schools were allowed to reopen in Cambodia in 1990, his grandchildren's education will not be | Japan. When Cambodia joins the Ashas come back into its own.

Before the country was engulfed about 500,000 ethnic Chinese in from Guangdong province. The gov- process, when King Norodom Siha- from Bangkok or Singapore.





GUARDIAN WEEKLY May 12 1998

of Japanese die in hospitals or

Japan's population is ageing so fast that the government will be forced to reconsider its concept of the minimal state. The

health ministry is looking into a system of home cure for the old, expected to number 28 million by 1999. The scheme will serve as an example to the rest of Asia. (April 26)

chamber's management board, 17 Cambodian Chinese, reconstituted in 1990, has already opened 13

aid from Western countries and tions, probably in 1997, that trend will probably gather momentum.

from the government last year ----

gaporeans dominate the hotel secspeak Chinese. The Association of tor. Malaysian Helicopter Systems has sunk \$10 million into the relaunch of Royal Air Cambodge.

There would not be such interest in Cambodia had not the local Chi-The Chinese are the biggest nese community got its act together donors of funds to public projects. at the beginning of the nineties. Lu bribes they need to pay to get an au-They contributed \$400,000 towards | was not the only person to have | thorisation or local police protection shack, which in time turned into a the financing of a new boulevard made it thanks to the mutual aid have increased in the past year. But cafe. Eventually, with the help of overlooking the Mekong river in networks based on trust that have other members of the Chinese com- Phnom Penh - and named after re-formed in the past few years as a practices. munity, he was able to borrow Hun Sen, joint prime minister, who result of an improved business enviopened it in January. The state is | ronment, Local authorities often | with his nephew. Together they strapped for cash and often calls on turn for help to the Chinese, who surely been caught up in the moprivate capital to help finance public arouse little resentment among mentum of its neighbours. The last In accordance with a widespread utilities, a practice also common in Cambodians, whereas the tens of real fighting against the Khmer Chinese custom, Lu remarried as Thailand. In the two kingdoms, as in thousands of poor Vietnamese Rouge is confined to the area near he was approaching 70, this time to other countries in the region, politics immigrant workers are generally the Thai border. In the longer term,

Lu is not just content with saving VERSEAS Chinese, who act as economic pacemak-ers throughout southeast patriarch that he is, he likes to There are those who are tak Asia, are leading foreign investors | spend Sunday afternoons with his in Cambodia, which gets most of its family a few kilometres north of bryonic administration to deal in Phnom Penh, in one of the 300 drugs; others have organised netopen-air restaurants which have mushroomed on the west bank of | China leave their country - many. the Mekong, and which offer delicious dishes of game, fish and shell- | Phnom Penh hotels waiting to get | Overseas Chinese obtained sev- fish. The spot is a favourite meeting the passport that may enable them eral generous forestry concessions place of the capital's new bour- to join a relative somewhere else in geoisie. It is there that local Chinese the world. Phnom Penh. Most came originally triggering a controversy in the like to take their business partners

estation constituted as great a threat Kong to Phnom Penh are often can muster from abroad are now The Chinese act as a useful chan- the capital's numerous authorised tunes seems unlikely. Lu would like To finance their projects they rely nel for foreign capital because, after and clandestine gambling dens. to go on one last trip to Canton, Lu, who was sent to a forest- on help from wealthy overseas Chi- 25 years of war and massacres, Other services are provided by the home of his ancestors. His three

When the country was short of foreign capital, the royal government Foreign companies are moving toyed with the idea of building a new group Tatung has decided on an ini- Cambodia City, on a huge site just three sons and one of his daughters. In the country, is of Chinese origin. to broadcast television programmes cide to leave Hong Kong in 1997.

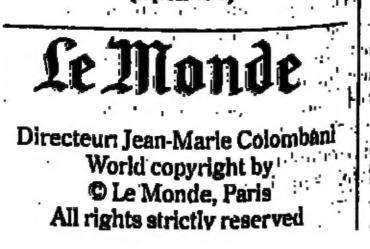
Although the project was shelved in 1994, it made it easier for parliament to pass a law on immigration, apparently tailor-made for Chinese investors, which specified that "aliens who have received an authorisation to invest, as well as menbers of their immediate family, are entitled to reside permanently in the kingdom of Cambodia".

The future looks rosy for the Chinese community. To be sure, the the Chinese are old hands at such

Thanks to local and overseas Chinese. Cambodia has slowly but Cambodia is destined to become a country of tourism and transit between the two great cities of

There are those who are taking advantage of Cambodia's still emworks to help people in mainland young refugees moulder in cheap

Lu is right to feel confident about the future. The economic clout of Dragon Air flights from Hong local Chinese and the support they (April 24)



GUARDIAN WEEKLY May 12 1996

The Washington Post

U.N. Says Israel Took Aim at Qana Camp

John M. Goshko

ISRAELI artillery shelling that killed about 100 in southern Lebanon last triggered Lebanese Hezbollah guerrillas fired rockets into Israel from two nearby locations and then took refuge inside the base, according to a U.N. investigation of the incident.

Whether Israel retaliated by deliberately firing at the base is still being debated by senior U.N. officials, according to sources familevidence points to a conclusion that others said more information is knew it was firing at the camp. needed before a judgment can be

The sources were referring to the findings of a still secret and incomplete probe conducted by Dutch pen, a military adviser to Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The sources, citing the sensitive nature of the situation, all refused to be identified more closely. Some have seen all or part of Van Kappen's draft, and some acknowledged that their information was second hand. Immediately after the artillery

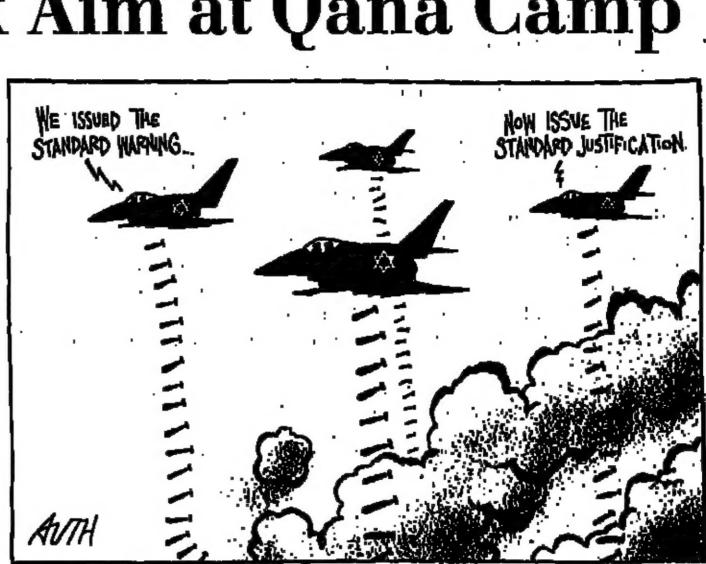
blitz on April 18, there were reports that guerrillas from Hezbollah, a militant Shiite Muslim militia, had fired Katyusha rockets across the Israeli border from at least one location near the U.N. base at Qana. However, there previously had been no information that at least some o the guerrillas fled into the camp and were there when the Israelis launched their bombardment.

Israell military officers knew the U.N. camp was filled with civilian refugees, and the death toll drew world-wide criticism. It also led President Clinton to send Secretary State Warren Christopher t roker a cease-fire.

Israel steadfastly has denied that it intentionally attacked the camp. said it was retaliating against the site nearby from which Hezbollah had fired the rockets, and a top Israeli general said on the day of the assault that his gunners had over ' shot their mark. But some of the sources here said that the initi iar with the inquiry. Some said the | draft of Van Kappen's report cited the available evidence as pointing to the Israelis acted deliberately, but an informed judgment that Israel

However, other sources, including at least one who has seen Kappen's draft, said the question of Israel's intent was still open, with one comparing it to "the missing sources said that in hopes of answering that question more definitively, senior U.N. officials have asked the Israeli government for more detailed information and are awaiting a reply

Some diplomats at the United Nations have suggested that the United States, which had backed Israel's air, ground and sea incursions into Lebanon as legitimate self-defense, might be exerting pressure to ensure that the report does not blame Israel for deliberately targeting the base. U.S. officials said they would have no ing out of the camp to lob mortarcomment at this time, but diolomats | launched rockets into Israel and friendly to the Jewish state empha- then fleeing back inside. The Fijian sized that Van Kappen's investiga- troops were unable to force them tion had established conclusively | out, and in one clash the week be- | will comply.



that Hezbollah guerrillas were the camo at the time it was attacked.

According to the various sources, Van Kappen's investigation deterrael's continued occupation of a southern Lebanon had been moving in and out of the U.N. camp manned by Fijian peacekeeping troops since ing among the refugees who had from Israeli shelling.

The sources said the guerrillas. working in small groups of two or

fore the Israeli shelling, a U.N. soldier was shot in the chest.

The Israelis were aware that guerrillas were using the camp, the Brigadier General Frank Van Kap- piece in a jigsaw puzzle." These mined that guerrillas opposing Is- sources said, but avoided firing on it prior to the April 18 bombardment. rillas launched rockets into lsrael from locations 500 meters and 200 meters from the camp, after which the Israeli offensive against Hezbol- | at least two or three ran inside. An lah began on April 1. Some of the Israeli reconnaissance drone flying guerrillas even had their families liv- over the area relayed information back on the sites from which the flocked to the camp in hopes that | rockets were fired, and Israeli gunthe U.N. flag would protect them | ners then launched the bombardment that leveled the U.N. camp.

The United Nations has asked Israel to give it the information colthree, established a pattern of com- lected by the reconnaisance drone and to explain how it was used in the subsequent Israeli targeting decisions. The sources said there was no indication yet of whether Israel

Serbs Stir Hatred of Muslim Neighbors

John Pomfret in Kapetani

THE FACT that Zijad Kape-L tanovic has a hard head might have saved his life last week. Kapetanovic, his 17-year-old daughter and his wife, all Muslims, were attempting to visit their homes for the first time in four years when they were caught in an ambush set by armed Serbs - the same men who rousted them from this quaint hillside farming village in 1992. One man carrying a 4-foot plank slipped up behind Kapetanovic and whacked him in the back of the head.

"You, too, have come back," Kapetanovic remembered the Serb's telling him before he was sent sprawling.

Kapetanovic was one of the luckier ones. The Serb attack left two

8 the most serious clash between Bosnia's warring parties since a onment and ambushes. follows a pattern of assaults, demonimplementation of the peace deal.

is that Serbs do not want Muslims to | round. And the Muslim state, desaccord clearly gives them that right. | target for radical Islamic elements The Serbs forced 1 million Muslims from their homes throughout northern and eastern Bosnia under a policy that came to be known as "ethnic cleansing." Bosnian Serb nationalist leaders worry that allowing even some of those people to return would undercut everything they fought for: an ethnically pure state and an ideology of separatism and nationalism.

"This is going to be the next challenge of the Dayton accord: Will people be allowed to return home?" the U.N. High Commissioner for better. Refugees in the northeast Bospian city of Tuzla.

into a minefield, NATO officers and witnesses said Serb gunfire was ac-some semblance of its historical in when war erupted in Bosnia in Two Muslim men w

states - Muslim, Croat, and Serb. force them back anyway.

That, U.S. diplomate say, would Kapetanovic joined about 400

Western officials say the problem | the Muslim state, which they surfrom the Middle East seeking a base in Europe.

The regional balance of power has little to do, however, with Muslims decided to walk home. Kapetanovic's desire to go home. His problems, while more prosaic. are just as pressing.

Kapetanovic, 42, a construction than a mile from Kapetani since Serbs chased his family from their house four years ago. His landlord is dropping hints that the sooner he

unarmed Muslims in the rolling dices, sought to express their differ- 'to turn into a flood in July, after Eu- Muslims were wounded, 8 hills of northwestern Bosnia was ences through means other than rope's school year ends. Then, thou-

Kapetani and a neighboring village. Under a deal worked out in meetings with Swedish NATO officers. Bosnian Serb police had pledged they would escort the Muslims into return home, although the Dayton perate for support, would be an easy the town, let them visit a graveyard there and escort them out.

But the Serb police never showed up, and, after waiting for four hours

At first the journey was troublefree. Kapetanovic, his wife, Mirsada. and daughter Elvira found their house: only a roof and a frame reworker, has lived with his family in mained of the two-story structure. a two-room shack in a village less | Everything else - windows, floors, furniture --- had been carted away by looting Serbs.

When the group neared the cemetery, shots rang out. Serb said Margriet Prins, an official with and the rest of his family leave, the thugs had positioned themselves in a meadow on both sides of the road.

witnesses said Serb gunfire was ac-tually to blame. The Serb ambush of the group of the group of the group of the serb ambush of the group of the g

marked the latest phase of the lead to disaster. The Serb and Croat other Muslims on Monday last weapons are allowed in this area. United States isn't setting much states would be tempted to nibble at week on an organized return to The Muslims were unarmed.



U.S. Setting Bad Example To the World

15

EDITORIAL

THE United Nations has tech nically run out of money. The cause: Member countries that haven't anted up their dues. The biggest debtor by far: the United

The United Nations won't have to lock its doors and sell the of fice furniture, because it can dip into its separate peacekceping budget to stay afloat. But that kind of forced budgetary gimmickry isn't without cost Countries that have provided troops for peacekeeping missions in the past are less likely to do so in the future if they're not confident of getting reimbursed As a result, the criteria for U.N. involvement get stiffer and "security zone" strip of land in On that date, the sources said, guer- stiffer. It's possible, for example. that a relatively small U.N. commitment to peacekeeping in Liberia could have prevented the recent descent into chaos there. with the attendant misery for Liberians, danger for Americans and costs to the U.S. military. But when the time was ripe, the United Nations wasn't prepared to take on another job.

This isn't all bad. **Republicans in Congress have** pointed out. In the first part of this decade, U.N. peacekeeping commitments ballooned, with the number of blue-helmeted troops skyrocketing from 10,000 to 90,000. Today there are 30,000. The U.N. bureaucracy, while shrinking, still has fat to trim.

But the proper response isn't to withhold money that the United States unquestionably owes. Congress this year appropriated almost enough to meet current-year obligations, but accumulated debt still tops \$1 billion - more than what will likely at a NATO checkpoint, about 50 be owed, at year's end, by all other U.N. members combined. This reflects not only concern about bureaucratic bloat but general Republican hostility toward the United Nations.

Such an attitude is exceedingly shortsighted. The portrayal of the United Nations as an instrument of U.S. foreign policy is truer today than it has been in a long time. Almost every costly U.N. mission - in Bosnis, Iraq. the Middle East. The reason is that other refugees | One Serb tossed a hand grenade at | Angola and elsewhere - is adare slowly returning to Boania and the Muslim group. Several of the vancing U.S. goals. In Haiti, the The struggle for Kapetani exem- space around Kapetanovic's adopted Serbs then charged the crowd United Nations authorized what by officials of the NATO peace-keeping force in Bosnia said the future of this country. If peo-Respine the started trickling back. The panic, one Muslim woman rant vegion, then provided cover for Muslims probably died after fleeing ple can go home, then Bosnia has from Germany, Sweden and other into a minefield and lost her leg in a U.S. troop withdrawal. It makes no sense for the United

Swedish NATO troops who were Congress to authorize payment mass rape and executions, imprise sands of Bosnian families could pack supposed to ensure that fighting did of the U.S. debt over a five-year on ment and ambushes. peace pact was negotiated in Day-ton, Ohio, in November and signed then Bosnia risks partition into the peace status of the 2.5-mile zone of separa-ton, Ohio, in November and signed then Bosnia risks partition into the peace status of the 2.5-mile zone of separa-ton, Ohio, in November and signed then Bosnia risks partition into the peace status of the 2.5-mile zone of separa-ton, Ohio, in November and signed then Bosnia risks partition into the peace status of the 2.5-mile zone of separa-ton of the 2.5-mile zone of separa-tion running along Bosnia's old fac-then Bosnia risks partition into the peace status of the 2.5-mile zone of separa-then Bosnia risks partition into the peace status of the 2.5-mile zone of separa-then Bosnia risks partition into the peace status of the 2.5-mile zone of separa-then Bosnia risks partition into the peace status of the 2.5-mile zone of separa-then Bosnia risks partition into the peace status of the 2.5-mile zone of separa-then Bosnia risks partition into the peace status of the 2.5-mile zone of separa-then Bosnia risks partition into the peace status of the 2.5-mile zone of separa-tion running along Bosnia's old facin Paris the following month. It three ethnically homogeneous mini- many of these people, which would lional battle lines, apparently failed reform. It's a reasonable proposal, and Congress should Under the Dayton agreement, no agree. At the moment, the

16 The Washington Post / U.S. **Clinton Sets Teen Welfare Standards**

Barbara Vobejda

series of executive actions to force states to end welfare benefits to teenage parents who refuse to finish school or live with a responsible adult.

recting what is considered one of | overdue," said Michigan Governor the most glaring weaknesses in the | John Engler, in a statement released nation's welfare system, payment of by the Republican Governors Assobenefits to young, unmarried mothers who often move out of their homes, end their education and fall into long-term dependency on welfare.

baby doesn't give you a right and won't give you the money to leave home and drop out of school," Clinton said in his weekly radio address.

provisions aimed at keeping teenage parents on welfare in school and at home, the president's action eventually will result in a plan, that demands work, demands national ban on payments to those who refuse.

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likely to figure prominently, last to do everything in my power to re-Saturday's announcement allows Clinton the upper hand, if temporarily, to claim that he has made progress on the issue while the Congress stalled on new legislation to overhaul the welfare system. The Clinton administration has granted "waivers" allowing a majority of states leeway from federal rules to experiment in their welfare programs.

Republicans are divided about | Familles with Dependent Children | welfare. About half a million babies whether to send the president new **D**RESIDENT Clinton an-nounced last weekend a their claim that Clinton has stood in the way of welfare reform by vetoing legislation passed by Congress last year.

"Bill Clinton and the liberals in Washington are still missing the The directive was aimed at cor- point: real welfare reform is long diation, which he chairs. "We can't reform welfare and break the cycle of poverty one waiver at a time."

Clinton said he vetoed the welfare bill because it went too far in "We have to make it clear that a cutting spending for the poor and making huge changes in foster care, aid for disabled children and the food stamp and school lunch programs. He also said it did too little to While about half the states have help move people from welfare into the work force.

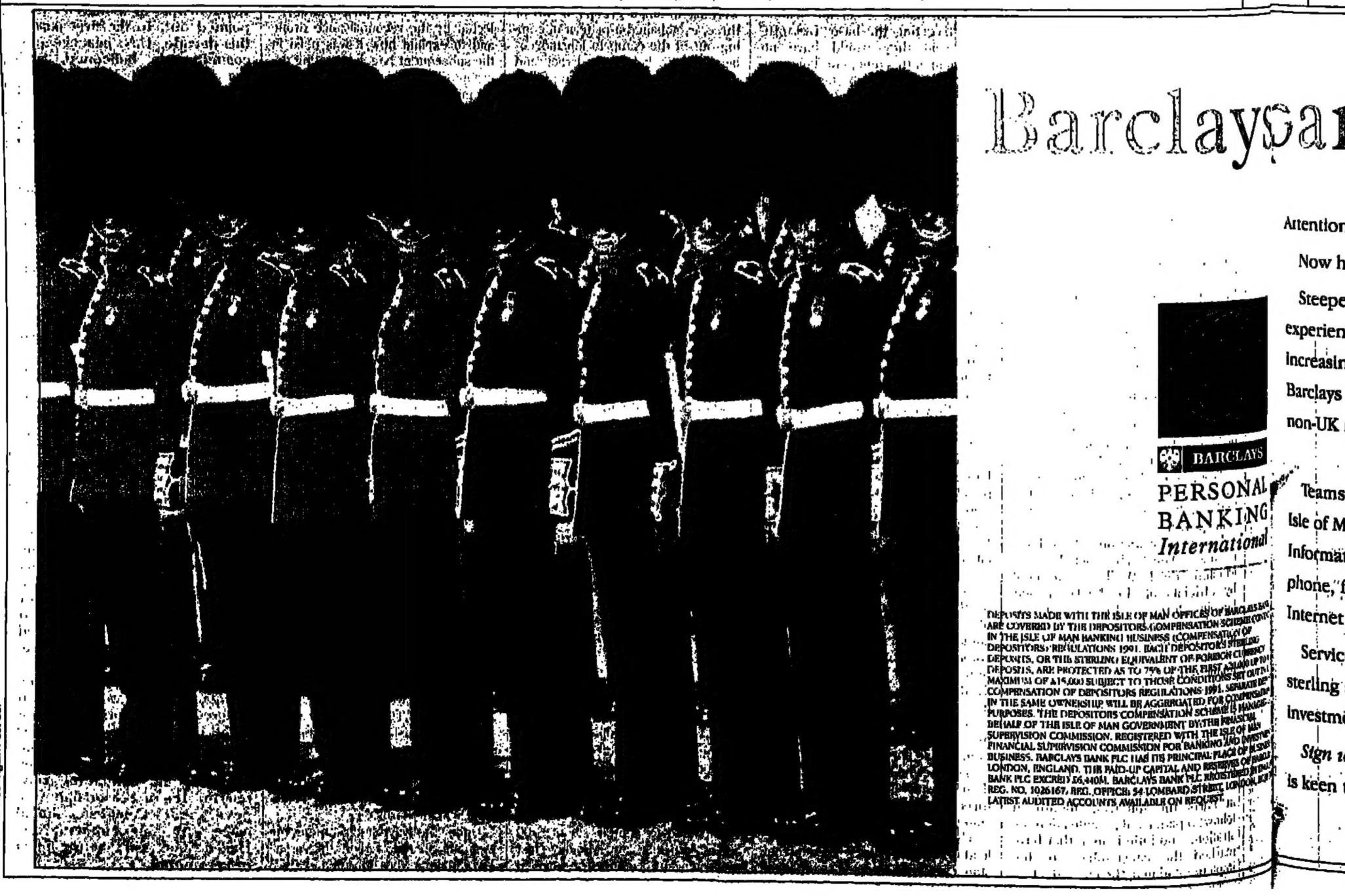
Clinton said that if Congress senda him a "clean welfare reform responsibility, protects children and helps families stay together, I will In an election year when welfare is sign it. Until then, I'll keep working form welfare step by step and state

president said. welfare and food stamp rolls are down, teenage pregnancy rates have declined and more welfare recipients are working. Much of that has happened, he said. because his administration has

program.

While a major redesign of the welfare system along the lines proposed by Clinton in 1994 or the Republican plan last year would require a change in federal law, the president can order some changes administratively, such as those he made last week. Last summer, for example, he announced that states proposing certain changes in their welfare programs, such as work requirements or beefed up child support enforcement, would essentially

federal government. Welfare reform efforts proposed by Republicans and Democrate have focused heavily on teenage parents, in part because they are | quire any teenage mother on wel-Compared to four years ago, the the group most likely to become long-term welfare recipients. Half of all adults on AFDC, about 2 million people, had their first children when they were teenagers. And only about half of adults on welfare Under the plan, unmarried teenhave high school degrees. There agers under age 18 receiving wel- already dropped out of school when granted 37 states "waivers" allowing are no firm numbers about how fare must agree to stay at home with they were enrolled in the LEAF



GUARDIAN WEEKLY May 12 1998

'The only way for teen mothers to escape the welfare trap is to live at home and stay in school'

be given automatic approval by the

(AFDC), the basic cash welfare | are born each year to teenagers, most of whom are unmarried.

Under the new plan, the first of four steps would require all states to keep teenage mothers in school, denying benefits to those who drop out and do not take steps to complete their high school educations.

Twenty-six states, including Virginia and Maryland, have such provisions and the president's order would require other states to adopt such a measure. He said the administration would audit the progress of every state and make the results

The second step will allow states to raise the benefits of teenage parents who stay in school. States can already lower benefits for teenagers who drop out of school but until now could not pay a bonus for those who stay in school without receiving a federal waiver. Last week's action removes the need for a waiver.

place in Ohio since 1989, has im- the same group increased by 40 proved high school graduation rates | percent. significantly, according to a study

The third step orders states to refare who has already dropped out to return to school or work toward a high school equivalency degree. These teenagers must also sign a "personal resuonsibility plau." flexibility in administering Aid to many unmarried teenagers are on a legal guardian, except in abusive | program.

and certain other circumstances. help establish paternity and obtain child support and, in some cases, attend parenting classes.

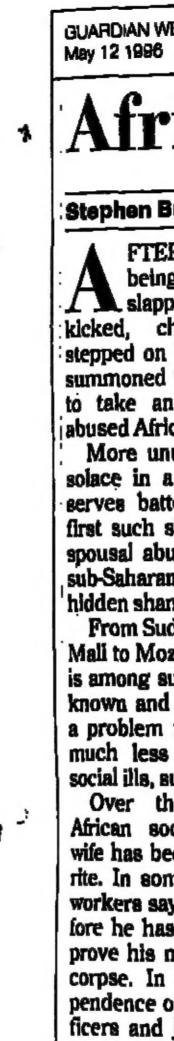
Finally, the president urger states to require that teen mothers on welfare live at home or with a responsible adult. Although states have the authority to keep teenagers on welfare at home, only 21 states, including Virginia an Maryland, have such provisions i place.

"The only way for teen mothers u escape the welfare trap is to live at home, stay in school and get the education they need to get a goo iob." Clinton said in his address "We must make sure the welfare system demands that teen mother follow the responsible path to indevendence.

A study released last week by the Manpower Demonstration R search Corporation found that the Ohio program, known as LEAP Learning, Earning and Parenting increased high school completion rates by nearly 20 percent among AFDC teenagers already enrolled in school when they entered the That approach, which has been in program. Employment rates among

> Teenage parents in LEAP receive an additional \$62 a month welfare benefits if they attend school regularly. But if they drop out or have too many unexcused absences. their benefit is reduced by \$62 a

Neither school completion not employment rates was improved for those teenagers on welfare who had



Perhaps most powerful is the bastion of privacy, in which unpleasant matters especially must be shielded from public scrutiny. "The biggest problem is that | they would have left, and he would | really care about her."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

African Women Fight Abuse

Stephen Buckley in Nairobi

FTER more than 30 years of being threatened, chased, thrown, punched, slapped. choked, whipped and stepped on by her husband, Agnes summoned the strength last winter to take an unusual step for an abused African wife. She left.

More unusual is that she found solace in a home in Nairobi that serves battered women. It is the first such shelter in Kenya, where spousal abuse -- as in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa - is a not-sohidden shame.

From Sudan to South Africa, from Mali to Mozambigue, spousal abuse known and least-discussed secrets. much less addressed than other social ills, such as AIDS.

Over the centuries in most African societies, battering one's wife has become both a right and a rite. In some ethnic groups, social fore he has assaulted her, he must pendence on men, cynical police officers and judges, and even scorn rom other women, have long forced abused wives to silently swallow their pain.

nobody wants to talk about it," said | have beaten me again," said the Anne Ngugi, director of the former teacher. She did not tell Women's Rights Awareness Pro-. those closest to her because "I was gram, or Wrap, which opened the so scared, and I was feeling so home for battered women in which Agnes found solace. "It comes down to people feeling that it [violence against women] is part of African tradition, and so people must keep

organization in Kenya revealed a her to give him her paycheck. He high awareness of violence against women, but little resolve to tackle

More than 70 percent of those surveyed - both men and women --- said they knew that wife beating is among sub-Saharan Africa's best- nearly 60 percent of respondents said women were always or somea problem far more pervasive but | times responsible for the beatings they suffered. About 51 percent said that men who batter women should not be punished.

the police. Asked how women who are being beaten should respond, workers say, if a man's wife dies be- | only 3 percent of those surveyed | they divorce, society, including their said that the victim should seek help prove his manhood by beating her | from law enforcement authorities. In | that favorably." cases that make it through Kenva's justice system, assailante typically receive a small fine.

During her three decades as a battered wife. Agnes - who is now 60 and asked not to be fully identified — never called the police. She not tell co-workers. She did not tell friends

"The police would have taken a bribe from my husband, and then | wife is something you do if you

embarrassed."

Agnes, whose husband also was a teacher, said the violence began a few years after she got married, A recent survey taken by Ngugi's | beat her every evening. He forced called her his slave.

Activists say it is not unusual for tions for decades. In most African educated than their husbands and leaving them economically bound to the men.

"A lot of these women try to protect the marriage because marriage gives you high status," said Lucy Njeri Karuru, Kenyan coordinator Battered wives thus rarely go to for Women and Law in East Africa, a research group with offices here, in Tanzania and in Uganda. "And if women friends, will not look upon

> gional coordinator for the research that soousal abuse falls under the general category of "physical assault" in Kenva. "A more specific law would help to let people know that this specific act is wrong. As it women — think that beating your

Joan Biskupic

THE Supreme Court announced last week it will review the constitutionality of a new law limiting federal appeals by state death row when she caught her husband in prisoners. The order is likely to halt bed with a teenage girl. He began to i most executions in the United States 'for at least the next two months.

The justices, who already had finished oral arguments for the term put the case from Georgia on an un-African women to stay in such situa- usually expedited schedule, with oral arguments scheduled for June 3 homes, women are generally less | apparently with the intent of reaching a decision before going on reces occurred in their neighborhood. Yet | often do not have professional skills, | in late June. At issue is a provision of the anti-terrorism law signed by President Clinton last month intended to reduce the number of court petitions that can be filed by condemned inmates. The Supreme Court's conservative majority led by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist has favored measures to shorten the often protracted appeals process in death penalty cases.

The court's four liberal-leaning justices protested on Friday last the matter too quickly, saying the issues "should be undertaken with the utmost deliberation, rather than

The challenge to the law was made by Ellis Wayne Felker, who had been scheduled to die last week iob to pay for college.

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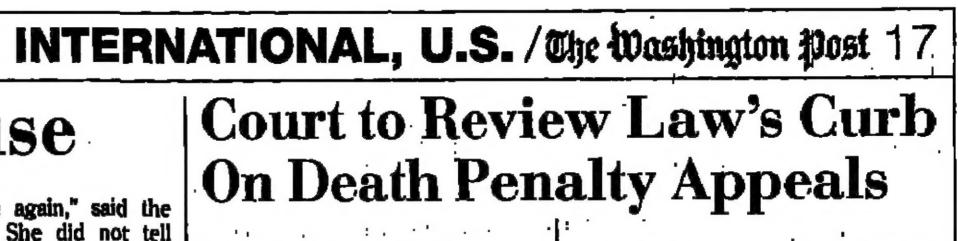
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sodomizing and murdering Evelyn oy Ludiam after reportedly luring her to his home by promising her work at his leather shop. Felker, who was convicted in 1983, insists he is innocent. His execution has been postponed while the court hears the case.

More than 3,000 prisoners are on death rows across the country. Felker's petition - the first to reach the court under the new procedures - also tests the authority of Congress to take power away from the federal courts.

The controversial provisions of the anti-terrorism statute restrict the ability of federal judges to hear state prisoner's appeals, known as petitions for writ of habeas corpus. and require judges to defer to state court determinations on whether a prisoner's constitutional rights were violated

While the immediate effect of last week's order was to bring scheduled executions to a virtual halt. if the court upholds the law, the result actually will be fewer delays in exeutions because the challenged statute sets tight deadlines and limits the ability of a prisoner to wir last-minute federal review.

Columbia law professor James Steven Liebman, an expert in the area, said that most prisoners who are about to die attempt to get a federal court to intervene. Those closwoman who met Felker while look- est to execution are also those mos likely to be filing successive petitions Felker was convicted of raping, | and most affected by the new law.

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18 The Washington Post / BOOKS Married to a Mob

Roxana Robinson

1 .

TALES OF BURNING LOVE By Louise Erdrich HarperCollins, 452pp, \$25

N LOUISE ERDRICH's fiction Erdrich exploits the savory possi-we expect issues of love, pain bilities of the situation to the full. **N** LOUISE ERDRICH's fiction Indians, and a setting in the austere and beautiful North Dakota landscape. In Tales Of Burning Love, | same man. Each woman had seen her new novel, these expectations the others as usurpers ... sluts driare met, but everything is different. ven by the same lusts that they trea-The landscape, instead of being sured as sublime in their own somber and overcast by a darkening hearts, but despised emanating sense of tragedy, is vividly illumi- from any other source. They had nated by bolts of freewheeling lunacy: This is a mad Gothic comedy.

The title sets the tone, with its playful overtones of cliché, passion it was delicious. Hot, wholesome and melodrama. Gleefully, Erdrich and filling." sets out to explore a wide spectrum of gaudy emotional states. These range from an ancient nun's unset- freezing, they keep each other tling devotion to God to a schizo- awake by recounting their marphrenic's desperate attachment to riages. They produce an opulent the husband she lies to and steals string of Sheherezade's tales, unfrom. Passionate love --- weird, likely, erotic, dazzling and often hi- Maro Leepaon thwarted and ecstatic --- is the uni- larious. Each woman's voice rises fying theme.

The riotously complex story centers around Jack Mauser and his thick braid. five wives. Jack is a handsome German-Indian contractor with a quick but it's love at its most adolescent temper, a drinking problem, and a and selfish. Honor, duty and princi- psychologically disturbed are is the subject of O'Nan's exception- so the lip doesn't get in the way. deeply flawed approach to finance. ple play no part, nor does responsi- ____ not disturbed psychologically ally well crafted, dense novel, the Stay off roads; stay off trails; stay off His life is a trampled battleground, bility. It is impulse, emotion and after returning home from fighting author's second. At times, especially paddy dikes. Don't bunch up on me due to the struggle between his two chance that rule; consequences are primal instincts: the urge to survive, of no consequence. These charac- everyman protagonist of Stewart | tails of Larry's life are painful to | Cut the sleeves off that jacket or and the equally powerful urge to ters just seize the moment and hold O'Nan's masterful novel The Names read. But in O'Nan's hands, The you'll sweat to death. Wear just the self-destruct. The novel opens in on. A respected woman professor | Of The Dead, is no exception. He | Names Of The Dead is compelling, | T-shirt, Wear just the jacket. Slit 1972, with his first wedding: in a seduces, taunts and sexually humili- went through a mind-numbing 11 propelled by a fast-moving plot, your pants so you get some air in bar, to a stranger, in an alcoholic ates a student, destroying his self- months as a combat medic in crisply realistic dialogue, vivid eve- there. Don't bother with underwar haze. The narrative proceeds with esteem and her future, out of Vietnam during the war's height. | cations of place and sharp insights | 'cause it just rots off. Don't cat the energy and speed, forwards and irritable boredom. A man trying Thirteen years later in 1982, Larry into the protagonist's psyche. backwards, in real time and flash- merely to visit his small son finds backs, narratives and conversations. himself trussing up the baby sitter flashbacks and recurring horrific stories in alternating chapters: for anything. Watch out for the kids By 1995. Mauser's fifth wife has left | and kidnapping the child. him and he faces bankruptcy. Natu- Erdrich revels in all of this -- the nel-house tour that ended when he Vietnam War story (with flashbacks for papa-san. Don't go (expletive rally, he gets drunk and burns his | physical disorder, emotional chaos, | stepped on a land mine and lost part | to his childhood) and his seemingly | with baby-san." house down.

After Jack's funeral, four of his ex- acters. The nature of comedy is wives are improbably trapped in a brief, episodic and superficial, and tion in his job as a snack-cake deliv- selves make a top-quality literary graphically described scenes of viocar during a howling snowstorm. the strength of this narrative de-The first wife, June, is the absent rives not from character and sym- N.Y. But everything else in his life is ing at Trinity College in Connecti- ing O'Nan's version of Larry' one. She was poor, a single mother, pathy but velocity and invention. and Indian (Erdrich, who is one, doesn't use the term "Native Ameri- iar dramatic voice is not absent. It man. His severely retarded son is a an enormous amount of research. can"). Eleanor, the second, is white. | recurs throughout this exuberant | constant drain on Larry's emotional intellectually pretentious, appallingly frolic as a quiet counterpoint. Jack, reserves. His difficult, elderly faself-absorbed, sexually predatory, falling asleep, remembers his long- ther's health is failing precipitously. and the most passionately attached dead Indian mother: "Stark-boned, He finds himself helplessly atto Jack. Candlee, the third, is white, filling up the wide screen of his | tracted to the sexy, seriously unbala dentist, ambitious, compulsive and consciousness, she smiled ... Just at anced woman who lives next door. deeply controlling. Marlia, the the instant he entirely surrendered to One other thing. A mysterious fourth, is white, a blackjack dealer, sleep he saw her once again, swoop- psycho killer is on Larry's trail. The O'Nan runs down a partial list of decades after it ended. That alone is alarmingly ruthless, totally exploita- ing down, his earliest memory." | stalker, a former Army assassin, "dos" and "don'ts" Larry is bom- a noteworthy accomplishment.

tive and frankly nuts, with the most vividly inventive approach to life. The last wife, Dot, is Chippewa, and Jack's accountant. She's also married to the Indian Gerry Nanapush, who's in prison for life.

and family, a cast of American "Suddenly [the trapped wives] were screaming. And why not? They had all at one time been married to the boiled their hatred to a dense jam, enriched and condensed it over years Ripe fury had escaped and

> The wives are in peril, however, and declare a truce. To keep from alone with her story, then falls be- THE NAMES OF THE DEAD neath the next, like strands in a long. By Stewart O'Nan

Everyone here is driven by love,

the succulent awfulness of the char- of a leg.

ery man in his hometown of Ithaca, war story. O'Nan, who teaches writ- lent death on the battlefield, includ in serious disarray. His wife is con- | cut, did not serve in Victnam. He | platoon's participation in the vicious Moreover, Erdrich's more famil- sidering leaving him for another was too young. But he obviously did May 1969 battle that became known

Working in a Theatrical Vein

Karl Beckson

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BRAM STOKER

A Biography of the Author of 'Dracula' By Barbara Belford

Alfred A. Knopf. 381pp: \$30

brated in cerie detail in folklore, fic-tion, drama and movies, vampires when Lucy, transformed into a vam-tive. Much of the book is virtually a living was attracted to roles involv-Belford's skillful handling of the blohave been sucking blood from audi- pire, simulates an orgasm when the dual biography of Stoker and the ing characters at once weird and graphical material results, in part, ences that never seem to weaken in phallic stake is driven into her heart. great actor/manager Henry Irving: theatrical, Belford asserts that Dractheir fascination with the "un-dead." Yet, throughout the novel, as For 27 years, Stoker was Irving's ula is "all about Irving as the vam- scripts that previous biographers. In her lively and informative biogra- Belford remarks, there is no "real business manager, principally at the pire . . . " However, Irving was not phy, Barbara Belford suggests rea- sex" or "lovemaking." sons why such creatures not only keep us awake at night but also graphy, as perhaps it should, since seclusive despite his flamboyance tory, and previous fictional accounts enter our fantasies by day: Vampires | Stoker's other novels are of little sig- on stage; and Stoker, equally de- of vampires in creating the count. evoke unconscious impulses associ- nificance. The subtitle announces manding in seeing that everything Belford contends that Irving was 1912 at the age of 65. ated with primitive sexual drives - Belford's principal focus, and each ran smoothly at the Lyceum and on not the only contemporary figure indeed, these threatening creatures chapter begins with a quotation their American tours, got on well whom Stoker pressed into service count, Stoker achieves new life, as are the very embodiments of our from the novel. Moreover, through with Irving only when Stoker de- in writing his novel: Stoker's friend- does his "un-dead" masterpiece.

own desires and fears, which are out her biography, Belford cites moral rectitude.

Bram Stoker's Dracula (1897), "most autobiographical novel."



The Walking Wounded

Doubleday, 399pp. \$23.95

experiences frequent davtime

revenge for something Larry did in soon after he arrives at a remote fire Vietnam, Amid all his other trou- base in the jungles of Vietnam: bles, Larry cannot figure out what he did to enrage the man.

TS BEEN said that only the ing and after his service in Vietnam thing with it on. Wear it backwards in a brutal war. Larry Markham, the in the Vietnam sequences, the de- or I'll cut your (expletive) heart out

nightmares stemming from a char- Larry's brutal, psychically numbing Watch out for mama-san. Watch out endless 1982 post-war troubles. The To his credit, Larry takes satisfac- chapters set in Vietnam by them- tains more than a few close-up

> amount of on-the-money detail about | those scenes and still conveyed the the everyday lives of infantrymen in horror of war. The book's final pay Vietnam. The book's Vietnam sec- off mildly disappoints. tions are as realistically drawn as anything in print.

hints ominously that he is seeking | barded with by the men in his squad

"Always wear your pistol. Never wear your [steel] pot on pairol Larry Markham's life before, dur- | 'cause you can't hear a goddamn C-ration ham and mothers. Don't O'Nan tells two interconnected | trade your spaghetti and meatbalk

The Names Of The Dead con as Hamburger Hill, Perhaps O'Na O'Nan presents an astonishing could have condensed some

These are minor missteps, how ever. O'Nan writes brilliantly abou Here's one example, in which a war in which he did not serve

ferred to him, especially in matters | ship with Walt Whitman leads her to of stage production.

In one of her simplistic parallels poet's influence on Dracula was between Dracula and Stoker's life, "profound ... particularly since the projected outward to safeguard our | what she regards as parallels be- Belford states that Stoker "inden- vampire at times resembles Whittween certain events in Dracula and tured" himself to Irving as his pro- man. Each has long white hair, As might be expected, psychoana- those in Stoker's life. Indeed, she tagonist Renfield - transformed heavy moustache, great height and lytic critics have had a field day with contends, the work is Stoker's into a vampire - bound himself to strength, and a leonine bearing." Count Dracula, Indeed, she goes which includes, among other per- In addition to the focus on even further by asserting that "a tances included not only Whitman X7 HAT A splendid subject to versions, symbolic penetration when Stoker's masterpiece, Belford's rich close relationship between any two but also such figures as Oscar, W sink one's teeth into! Cele- the count sucks "blood/semen," evocation of the London theatrical people, in fact, almost always involves Wilde, Mark Twain, Bernard Shaw Lyceum Theatre. Irving, a demand- easential for the creation of Dracula, disposes of the conclusion by Dracula dominates Belford's bio- ing perfectionist, was sometimes for Stoker drew upon folklore, his Stoker's great-nephew, Daniel Far-

the questionable conclusion that the

Stoker's friends and acquain from the use of unpublished manu have ignored. She also convincingly son, in his 1975 biography, that Stoker died of tertiary syphilis in

In Belford's highly readable ac-

GUARDIAN WEEKLY May 12 1998

FACULTY OF EDUCATION DEPARTMENT: EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS AND MANAGEMENT

Professor

Requirements: An earned doctorate with major in Philosophy of Education and minor in Comparative Education; extensive teaching experience at undergraduate and postgraduate levels and in the supervision of postgraduate research.

Job description: Teaching Philosophy of Education and Comparative Education at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels; research, supervision of postgraduate student research; guidance with regard to teaching, research and community service.

Date of assumption of duties: January 1997.

Closing date: 31 May 1996.

Contact person: Mr J Francis at 09-264-61-206-3099.

Fringe benefits: The University of Namibia offers competitive salaries and the following fringe benefits: • pension fund/gratuity scheme • medical aid scheme e annual bonus e housing scheme e generous leave privileges
relocation expenses.

Non-Namibian citizens may be appointed for a 3-year, renewable contract period.

Application procedure: Applications in writing, accompanied by a curriculum vitae, giving full details of present salary notch, increment date, the earliest available date when duty can be assumed

and including three referees should be submitted to: The Head, Recruitment and Selection, University of Namibia, Private Bag 13301, Windhoek, Namibia. Preliminary telegraphic applications may be made via telex 56-727 or fax to 09-264-61-206-3843/206-3003.



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WWF - World Wide Fund for Nature International, the world's largest and most experienced Independent conservation organisation is seeking to recruit a

PROGRAMME DIRECTOR/ CHARGÉ(E) DE PROGRAMME

for its conservation programme in Madagascar

Based in our Programme Office in Antananarivo, Madagascar, the Programme Director/Chargé(e) de Programme will work alongside the Honorary WWF Representative in leading and managing a large multi-disciplinary conservation programme.

The main responsibilities of this position are: Management of the conservation and development

- programme working with several international donor agencies.
- Coordination of all technical activities, including the monitoring of strategic and operational plans.
- · Development of policy work and applied research on blodiversity issues,
- · Maintenance and further development of the excellent relations that WWF enjoys with its government and nongovernmental partners.
- The requirements are:
- · A graduate degree in an environmental science.
- At least 10 years' post-graduate field experience with a strong background in conservation in developing countries.
- · At least 5 years' senior management experience with proven
- leadership and interpersonal skills. Proven analytical and problem solving skills.
- Fluency in both French and English.
- Diplomatic skills and cultural sensitivity, as well as a passion for nature are important assets for this position.

If you are interested, please send your application with full Curriculum Vitae to Effle Blanchard, Human Resources Department, WWF International, Av. du Mont Blanc, 1196 Gland, Switzerland. Tel: +41 22 364 9306; before 30 May, 1996.

WWF is an equal opportunity employer.

We don't just support children's rights. We help make them happen.

SCF, established in 1919, works in 50 of the world's developing countries to achieve leating benefits for children. In Eritrea, Angola and Tanzania, we're working with governments and communities to help build children a brighter future, improving children's access to such critical services as health, community services and social welfare. We're tooking for experienced aid workers to help ensure children's rights are realised in these difficult environments.

FIELD DIRECTOR

£21,605 + benefits Asmara, Eritrea SCF opened an office in Asmara in 1992 and is assisting the government in the development of a comprehensive, integrated and sustainable health service. The main involvement has been in the provision of technical assistance to the Ministry of Health at national level, and developing a regional health support programme in the western lowlands area. SCF is also exploring other ways to achieve lasting benefits for children within their communities.

As Field Director, you'll have overall responsibility for the management and development of the programme. Ensuring strong working relations with the EU and other major donors, you'll effectively manage the major grants supporting our current work. A key challenge will also be to develop relations at senior government level. The demands of this post call for a range of qualities, skills and experience. You must have senior, international experience of managing overseas development programmes and possess considerable financial, managerial and policy expertise. Strong analytical and conceptual skills are essential, and you will need to be an adept communicator and negotiator with excellent report writing akilis. The post has

accompanied status and is offered on a 25 month contract. Ref: FD/E.

PROVINCIAL CO-ORDINATOR Benguela, Angola £19,661 + benefits

Our project work in Angola has been particularly demanding following the fighting which ensued after the 1992 elections. The situation is still unpredictable, but SCI continues to improve the lives of children by working with government ministries to develop health care and community development programmes in the Benguela province. You will play an essential role using your substantial overseas experience to plan, direct and manage these challenging projects, representing SCF throughout the province. Good Portuguese (or fluent Italian, French or Spanish) is essential. The post has accompanied status and is offered on an initial 12 month contract. Ref: PC/A.

PROJECT MANAGER £19.661 + benefits

At present there are some 130,000 Rwandan refugees in the Karagwe district. The long-term future of the refugee camps is uncertain, but their need for effective community-based development is undoubted.

Your role, then, will be to build on the relief and community services which already exist for the camps and help us further develop long-term support programmes in areas. Including child welfare and family tracing, vocational training, education and youth services. With extensive experience in refugee resettlement and community development (preferably social services) as well as strong team management abilities, you will have the rare blend of technical and management skills needed to make a real difference to all these projects. The post has unaccompanied status and is offered on a 25 month contract. Ref: PM/T.

For all posts, you can also expect a generous benefits package including accommodation, flights and other living expenses. Salaries should be tax free. For further details and an application form, please write for relevance FD/E to Mary Austen and for references PC/A and PM/T to Claire Hoffman at: Overseas Personnel, SCF, 17 Grove Lane, London SE5 8RD or fax 0171 793 7610. Closing date for all posts: 31st May 1996.

SCF aims to be an equal opportunities employer.



Working for a better world for children

Job Announcement **Finance & Administration Manager, Namibia**

World Wildlife Fund (WWF), an international non-profit organization working worldwide for the conservation of nature, seeks a Finance & Administration Manager. The position is located in Windhoek, Namibia.

Duties:

Under the direction of the Chief of Party, plans, directs and oversees project activities in the area of financial management; coordinates and ensures that all administrative responsibilities, including human resources, computer services and office administration are in accordance with established WWF-US policies and procedures; and financial monitoring of subgrantees.

REQUIRES:

A Bachelor's degree in Accounting or Finance. A CPA is preferred. Seven years administrative and financial experience. At least three years experience in successful project management and supervision. Familiarity with USAID regulations in relation to cooperative agreements and grant requirements a must. Public accounting experience is desired.

APPOINTMENTS/COURSES 19

Karagwe, Tanzania

Applicants should forward cover letter and resume by mail to: World Wildlife Fund, Human Resources, Dept. 520M, 1250 24th Street, N.A., Washington, DC 20037. NO FAX OR TELEPHONE INQUIRES, PLEASE.



The Education FMO manages the entire portfolio of ODA funded education projects in India. The projects with which the successful applicant will be concerned concentrate on basic education. A major new project in Andhra Pradesh has recently been approved and will devote particular attention to enhancing education participation and achievement amongst disadvantaged groups and the development of village level institutions. A gender concern will permeate all project strategies. It is hoped that a similar major project will be initiated in West Bengal by the end of 1996. Further projects in fields such as

Adult Literacy are planned. The Health FMO manages a portfolio of ODA funded projects in the health and population sector concentrating on primary health care, control of major communicable diseases such as malaria, TB and AIDS and rehabilitation of the disabled. Three major projects are concerned with health systems development in the state of Orissa, school health programmes in Andhra Pradesh and malaria control and research in Gujarat.

Duties and responsibilities: The Social Development Advisers will work as full members of the FMO teams which support partner organisations to achieve their objectives. They will: provide specialist social development analysis, advice and management inputs leading to the successful implementation of the

programme; focus particularly on the means and methods of project interventions and take-up of health/education services; ensure participation of the poor and women in all aspects of project activities and enable

project partners to realise these objectives. Qualifications and experience: The successful applicant will hold a relevant first degree and a higher degree in relevant social science discipline such as Social Anthropology, Sociology or Social Planning. Several years experience of working overseas is required, preferably in India or South Asia. S/he will be competent in social development planning, gender, community-based participation, poverty reduction, social policy (both posts) and health, population, family welfare (Health FMO post only). Applicants for the Education FMO should preferably have in addition an interest in adult literacy/alternative education.

Essential skills include: strong interpersonal and communication; facilitation and analytical abilities; evidence of working in a multidisciplinerary team and working with project stakeholders including central government and national institutions; a sound understanding of the processes of managing change.

The posts involve extensive travel within India. Salary: A competitive salary will be offered based on qualifications and experience. Contract: initially for two years commencing

mid-1996; renewable Closing date for applications: 81 May 1996

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Interviews: to be held in Manchester on 13 June Post reference: 96/N/005

Requests for further details and application form, quoting post reference and enclosing A4 sae (88p) to: Mark Hepworth, Overseas Appointments Services, The British Council, Medlock Street, Manchester, M15 4AA.

Telephone (0161) 957 7383, fax (0161) 957 7897, e-mail mark.hepworth@britcoun.org





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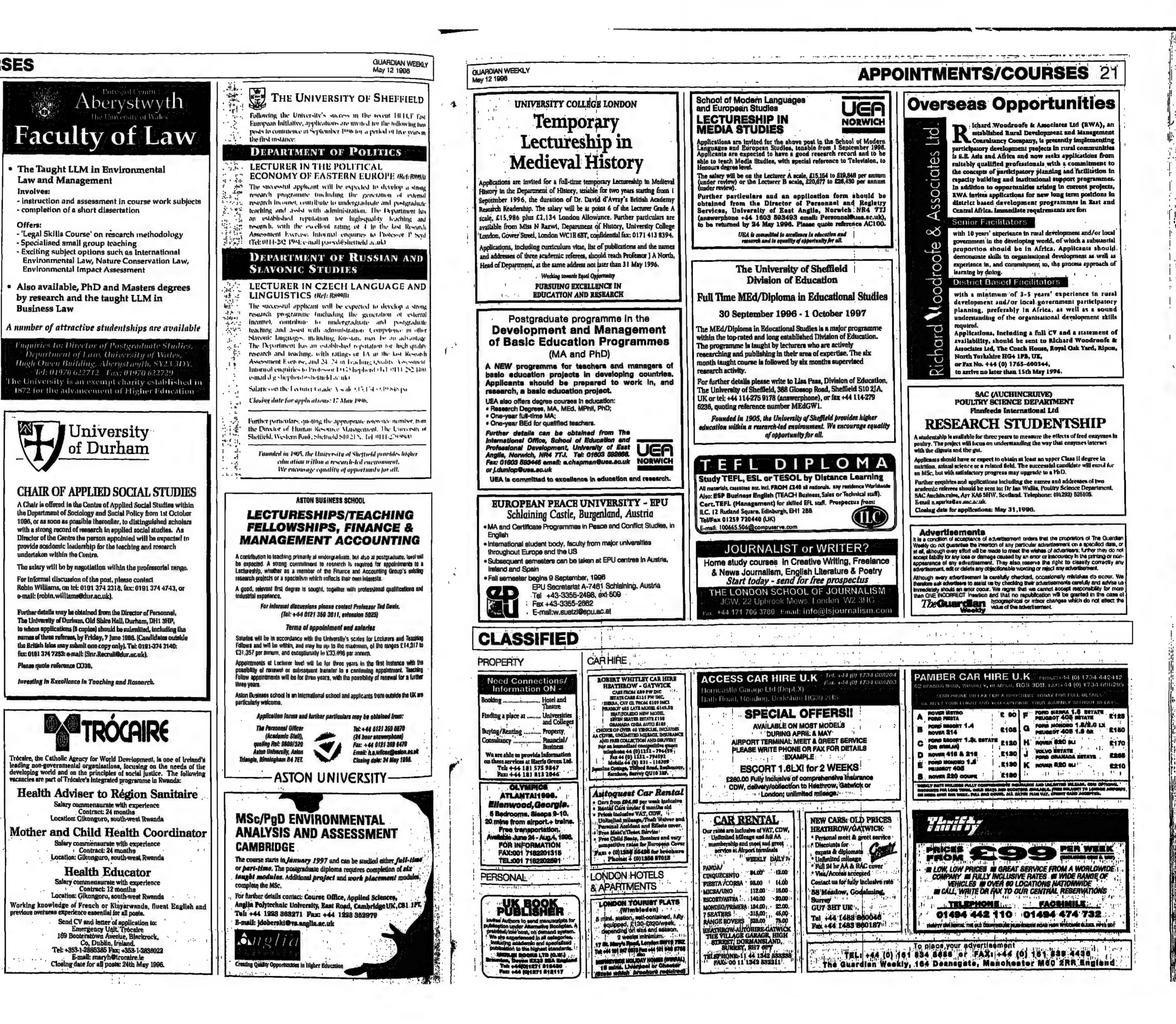
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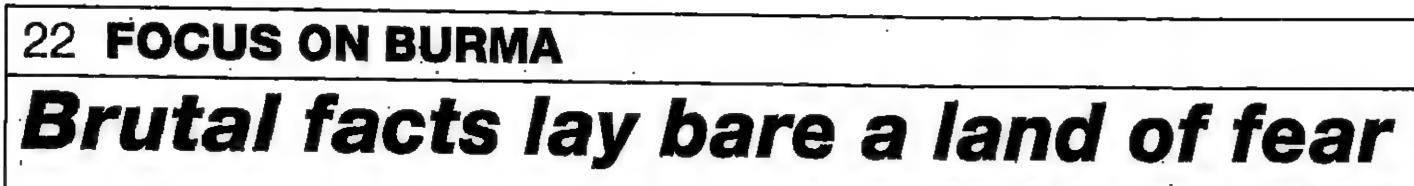
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Please quote reference CO39.







A tyrannical military junta has ruled for 34 years. Now, desperate for hard currency, it seeks to attract holidaymakers. But, writes John Pilger, a world of slavery and intimidation lies beyond the tourist trail

without a quiver among the came to listen to her — in doing so temples in the desert. In Ananda, the they branded themselves as oppomost celebrated of the great cathe nents of the regime - and the drals, there are four colossal stand- Kafka-like absurdity of the country's ing Buddhas. As the light catches elected leader having to address one of them, it is smiling. As you get people standing on a platform becloser the smile becomes enigmatic, hind her garden fence. then it fades. As you walk to one side and look back, the Buddha's expression is melancholy. Walk on and it becomes fear veiled in pride. For the devout, it symbolises Buddha's time- to catch a train to Mandalay, only to less wisdom. For me it is the face of find her carriage adrift at the station modern Burma.

Six years ago, more than 4,000 freely associate with anyone. Those people lived in Pagan, a city which Burmese who pass through her stands as one of the last wonders of gate take a risk: their names are the ancient world. They were given noted and they can expect a call in two weeks to leave, some only a few the night. Eight members of a days. The city was being opened to | dance troupe who had recently celemass tourism and only guides and brated Independence Day with her, the staff of a planned strip of hotels | "disappeared". They include the were permitted to stay. The people's popular comedians U Pa Pa Lay and homes were buildozed and they Lu Zaw, who are said to have made a were marched at gunpoint to a joke about the generals. Each has shadeless, waterless stubble that is since been sentenced to seven a dustbowl in the dry season and years' hard labour. runs with mud during the monsoon. Ms Suu Kyi lived in Britain for Their new houses are made of straw many years before she returned to and poor-quality bamboo. Those vil- Burma, and her family continue to lagers who objected were sent out live in Britain. A few weeks ago her on to the barren plain, or beaten, or husband, the Oxford Tibetologist taken away in the night.

The dispossession was mild by fused permission to visit her. The Burma since a military coup in 1962 been withdrawn. The official newscrushed the democratically elected paper the New Light Of Myanmar and that the world must realise the experience" includes a "free lecture built in Mon state, between the government. Last year the Interna- attacks her regularly and with scale of Burma's human rights on Burma's history and culture", tional Confederation of Free Trade mounting viciousness. She is "ob- abuses, particularly forced labour. which makes no mention of the daman Sea. This is Burma's great Unions reported that a million sessed by lust and superstition"; she "News comes and goes like fashion," people had been forced from their "swings around a bamboo pole she said. "After the people rose up in In 1988, the year before the ganisations have documented the homes in Rangoon alone, in prepa- brushed with sewage"; she is 1988 and paid the price in bloodshed, investment. Throughout Burma pitiable and at once disgusting to be a pity if we slip again." new facade of "economic growth". though difficult to share.

Strike cigarettes has "Welcome to timidation is her popularity, which labour, abuse of women, politically porting, there were no professional ity away at the hill stations. Ancient Yangon" in the space otherwise al- could not be greater. At the mention motivated arrests and detention, TV cameras and no satellite images sewing machines whirred on lotted to a cancer warning. "Yan- of her name, the contrived neutrality forced displacement, important re- to shock the world. Troops had or- balconies; the roads were filled with gon" is the name the military of faces, by which people survive, strictions on the freedoms of expres- ders to shoot anyone with a camera. bicycles not cars; carbon paper, regime has given Rangoon; Burma breaks into smiles. People whisper is "Myanmar", which is the equivalent of the German government insisting that the rest of the world call their country Deutschland, A billboard near the airport announces "Visit Myanmar Year 1996". In the next street is the headquarters of Military Intelligence, known to the blood, we slipped Burmese as "Em-eye". It is Burma's KGB and, alongside the old tyrant Ne Win and the army, it is the power in the land and the source of what the United Nations special rap- her name as you brush them in a sion of almost any reading material against them during the occupation were told they had to leave. Followporteur has described as "an atmos- market, then turn and put a finger to is punishable. Elderly, sick and even of the second world war. Having laid ing the line of embankments north

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A REAL PROPERTY OF

businessmen the drive to their hotel see her, all caution is discarded and inevitably includes a short detour questions pour forth as to her well- any of the famous names in British 1947. More than 40 years later, his might have been a tableau of Victoalong University Avenue. To the being. But along with expressions of uninitiated, this has a frisson of the admiration, affection and solidarity Express, Kuoni - and there is no ship. of a renewed democracy building embankments and a bridge forbidden and seditious. Number 54 are fears for her safety and the recog- problem. Indeed, to British Airways movement, It was her demand, for is the home of the 1991 Nobel Peace nition that she, and the democracy Burma offers "the ultimate in lux- the restoration of democracy that with the arrival of the monscont an Prize winner and leader of the movement, may be trapped. Burmese democracy movement, Aung San Suu Kyi. Here, she spent very governments that the regime is an unspoilt country today may seem elections. Having banned canvass foliage formed great wickerwork six years under house arrest until now courting in Asia and the West, impossible," says the Orient' Ex- ing; threatened the electorate and screens, they were carving the failher release last July. Now, every Sat- nothing will change for a long time," press brochure, "but Burma is such disbarred and silenced Ms Suu Kyi, way, A 20-foot-high embankment speak from over her garden gate to Ms Suu Kyi herself told me that fascinating traditions . . . its easy mented her party, the National hoe and hand from huge holes. The several thousand supporters cor- foreign investment and tourism were going ways are a tonic to the West- League for Democracy, and that skilled, were paid about 45 cents a

TDAWN, in Burma's ancient What struck me was the extraorcapital of Pagan, crows glide | dinary courage of the Burmese who

Since her "unconditional" release, Ms Suu Kyi has been denied freedom of movement. On a recent attempt to leave Rangoon she tried as the train pulled out. She cannot

Michael Aris, was once again re-

'After the people rose up in 1988 and paid the price in from the headlines'

For arriving foreign tourists and and disclose that you have been to leg-irons and forced to work."

and the second secon

A CARL AND ANY CARL TO THE PART AND A CARL AND

the standards of the dictator Ne Win ban also applies to their two sons, Aung San Suu Kyi is denied freedom of movement. But she is other Asian dead, and the generals who have ruled whose Burmese nationality has long allowed to address her supporters from her garden each weekend

is slave labour. "Conditions in the on filming until they shoot us." labour camps," says one study, "are

momentous events of 1988.

democracy movement in China was testimonies of the slave workers on ration for tourism and foreign "drowning in conceit" and "it is we slipped from the headlines. It will destroyed so publicly in Beijing's the new death railway, icw outsiders Tiananmen Square, the people of have seen it and the slave camps perhaps 3 million people have been see a person [like her] suffering In February the United Nations Burma rose up and as many as along the route. This is because brutally swept up and exiled to from insanity ... now at a demented Commission on Human Rights re- 10,000 were killed by the army. Un- much of Mon state is closed to for-"satellite zones" where they are stage". Ms Suu Kyi dismisses all ported, as it does every year, that the like the Chinese leaders, the gener- cigners. It is Burma's gulag. compelled silently to serve Burma's this with a laugh that is brave following violations were common- als in Rangoon moved quickly to The towns in this remote part of place in Burma: "Torture, summary | curtail foreign media coverage. Al- | the country are a step back in time, A billboard advertising Lucky Of course, the reason for such in- and arbitrary executions, forced though there was eye-witness re- as if the British Raj were temporarsion and association and oppression On one tape smuggled out of Ran- radiograms and sleeveless sweaters of ethnic and religious minorities ... " goon, the voices of two amateur | were for sale. Tavoy has streets of Take at random any of the re- Burmese cameramen are caught at decorous teak houses, the biggest ports by Amnesty International and the moment they were spotted by with lace iron balconies. Others are what distinguishes the Burmese soldiers. "What shall we do?" asks dungcon-like, with iron bars and junta from other modern tyrannies one of them. His friend replies, "Keep | damp trickling over torn posters of

It was in April 1988 that Ms Suu so harsh that hundreds of prisoners Kyi returned from England to take beckon interrogation and worse. have died as a result . . . Military In- | care of her dying mother. Her father telligence personnel regularly inter- was Aung San, the revered national forms to as many as 14 different aurogate prisoners to the point of hero, whose guerrillas were trained thorities. On the day we arrived in unconsciousness. Even the posses- by the Japanese, then turned Tavoy all "independent travellers" their lips. And if you are able to speak handicapped people are placed in the foundations of a democratic into the jungle, we succeeded in getstate, and negotiated independence ting lost, then by chance came upon Pick up a travel brochure from from Britain; he was assassinated in a clearing that presented what tourism - British Airways, Orient daughter agreed to take on leader- rian England. Scores of people were ury" and a "fabulous prize" for its led to her house arrest in 1989. ochre-coloured torrent. From out of "Unless pressure comes from the Executive Club members. "To find However, the generals did hold jungle so dense that its bamboo and a place. It has retained its charm, its they were confident they had frag- had been built with earth dug by ralled behind barbed wire barriers. | shoring up the power of the junta, | ern traveller." This "truly unique | their own front would gain the

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largest blue of seats. The opposite happened. The NLD won 82 per cent of the seats in the new parliament Stunned, the junta responded by arresting 3,000 NLD workers and handing out prison sentences of up to 25 years to those of the new MPs who tried to establish the government.

The explication for oppression was now "economic stability". Hay ing re-invented themselves as the State Law and Order Council, which goes by the fine Or wellian acronym. Slore, the generals declared Burma "open to free enterprise". At the same time, in order to rebuild the crumbling infrastructure - roads, bridges, airports, railways - they set about turning the country into a vast labour camp. Last year the moat around the imperial palace in Mandalay was excavated and restored almost entirely by forced labour, including chain gange guarded by troops. When photo-graphic evidence of this was produced, the regime claimed that "contributing labour" was "a noble Burmese tradition" and, anyway, many of the workers were convicted criminals who had "volunteered to work in the open air". In totalitarian Burma the term "convicted criminal" can embrace someone guilty of having been elected to office or of handing out leaflets calling for democracy (five years' hard labour), or of singing a song the generals don't like (seven years' hard labour).

This has thrown up a terrible irony. Alongside the 16,000 British and Allied soldiers who died as slaves on the Japanese "death railway" that linked Borma with Thailand during the second world war, were some 100,000 Burniese and

Now, history is repeating itself. An extension of this line is being towns of Ye and Tayoy on the Ansecret. Although human rights or-

coy women holding parasols.

To talk openly to anyone is 10 Hotels must copy guest registration continued on page 28

May 12 1998 Continued from page 22 day. The majority were slave labourers, of whom many were children. Laboriously and clumsily the child workers wrested clay from the exca vations, sharing a hoc between three. One little girl in a long blue dress struggled to wield a hoe taller than herself, then fell back exhausted and, with a wince, held her aching shoulder. The children carried heavy loads

of mud mixed with straw in baskets and dishes on their heads and clearly suffered under the weight of it. They poured it into a vat and grinder, turned by two tethered oxen. The sticky clay, now almost as hard as rock, was gathered by two small children, one of them small enough to fit up to his shoulders in a hole directly beneath the grinder. As many as 300 adults and children have been killed or have died from disease and exhaustion, according to one estimate. There were at least 20 other bridges in the vicinity and children were working on all of them. Every village along the way must give its labour "voluntarily" regard less of age or people's health. Ad vanced pregnancy is no excuse. people protest that, as peasant farmers, their labour is all they have to keep them and their families alive, they are fined and their possessions confiscated. If a whole village objects, the head man is beaten or killed and all the houses razed.

"I saw one old man accidentally drop his load into the river," a former civil servant told me in a to retrieve it. the soldiers shot him in the head. I could see the water turn red with his blood, then the river carried him away."

A man who escaped with his wife win said he had been assured by the told me: "I saw people dying be- senior general in the Slore "openly fies" the rebellious young. cause of landslides or fever. Some of | and categorically" that Burma's "sothe bodies were never found, only cialism" had been "a mistake" and when her father was murdered. the head or a foot. They didn't that this mistake had caused the up- What distinguished the movement bother to bury the bodies properly, with a funeral. They just dug a hole ence to the generals murdering and left them there."

why she was being forced to work government into prison. The "good in this way. "We were told nothing," news", he said, "is that economic she said. "We overheard we were | growth is picking up". building a railway so that a French oil company could run a pipeline through, and foreigners came to look over the site,"

ment. In partnership with the Amer- skyrocket." This is disputed by, ican Unocal company. Total is among others, a recent report in cialism and democracy to the freely building a \$1 billion pipeline that The Economist. The World Bank elected governments that followed. will carry Burma's natural gas into Thailand. The deal will give the Ran- Fund have yet to lend the generals a period of turmoil as the ethnic peogoon generals about \$400 million a an end to democracy in 1990, it is which a dictatorship's crimes power. Its leader, Ne Win, became estimated that the Slorc have re- against its people are obscured and Burma's Stalin. He displaced whole ceived 65 per cent of their financial "forgotten" as foreign businessmen populations, built labour camps and backing from foreign oll companies, including Britain's Premier Oil:

In its 1993 report on human and "will use the new railway to | and Vietnam. a "fabrication" and both the oil com- at the UN, US policy is "not to en- banknotes, replacing them with new going to make any difference ... " panies deny the railway is linked to courage or discourage" business denominations that included or the pipeline project.

British firms to trade or invest in the great zaibatsu - Mitsui, Mit- cash, most were ruined. Burma in view of the current politi- subishi, Honda and Nippon Steel - In a nation now impoverished the have the will to want it; then you cal and economic situation there." have offices in Rangoon. " touchpaper was lit. By March 1988 must have the right kind of attitude; business visitors to Rangoon can of illegal. More than half the heroin dents at Rangoon university. The ance, then wisdom for advice and support." Last year Australian cities originates in the at eight minutes past eight on the Office minister, Jeremy Hanley, had should follow." O All rights reserved

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

The oil company is Total, which



merchant banker and government | conclude from a long investigation | adviser on trade in Southeast Asia. For the South-East Asian Information "To be a Briton in Burma," he told the delegates, "is a privilege," Godheavals in 1988. He made no referthousands of unarmed civilians, I asked his wife. Min, if she knew | then throwing most of the elected

· A few Western businessmen operating in Borma claim that foreign investment in the country has multiplied tenfold since 1992. "It's not so much a gradual pick-up," said Pat is part-owned by the French govern- James, a Texan entropreneur, "as a he founded was its complex attempt and the International Monetary But this flowering coincided with a woman's prison. governments call "positive engage- real and imagined. His wars against rights abuses throughout the world, tralians call "critical dialogue". The and vengeful. He abolished Burma's

Network that the Slore have allowed heroin to circulate freely and cheaply

Few outsiders have seen the slave camps, as much of Mon state is closed to foreigners. It is Burma's gulag

to apply a blend of Buddhism, so-



lowed in succession; and in subse- ence of democratic principles". quent days and weeks almost their country.

most veils had dropped. The De- golden triangle" where the borders viewed the exiled witnesses to these nearby safe area controlled by the | Burma - The Latest Tiger Cub? | has doubled. Two researchers, Dr | my friends was shot in the head | Htun Oo, a former student. "Two girls and a monk were shot next to 1 him," Another student, Ave Chan, said, "A lot of flame was coming out in Burma in the hope that it "paci- of the crematorium which was sur-They just burned them alive.'

Win remains the centre of the Slorc's power. His former aide, the secret police chief. General Khin Nyunt, is "Secretary One". Behind sunglasses Gen Khin Nyunt's pudgy face appears at least five times a day in the New Light of Myanmar.

The taxi dropped us far from the stately pile fallen on hard times. some day." overlooking a garden that tumbles

lightly. Only in repose does her face tyrants understand." offer a glimpse of the cost and the ment" and the Europeans and Aus- the ethnic peoples were unrelenting ishes, like a blind closed and open.

I asked her if her release from supplies into the pipeline area". Un- fury aimed at the regime by Made- this coup de grâce. Without warning, League For Democracy was a spent ocal says reports of slave labour are line Albright, the US Representative he withdrew most of the country's force and that releasing me was not that trade with or invest in Burma.

"But with such a brute force con-In 1993 the British trade minister, followed a similar two-faced policy. cording to his chief astrologer, nine power you won at the ballot box?"

FOCUS ON BURMA 23

Prisoners (left) take a brief rest during work on the reconstruction of Mandalay Palace, set to become a tourist attraction. Children are forced to work on Burma's new death railway under harsh conditions

morning of the eighth month of I told Parliament that "through 1988. This was the auspicious time | commercial contacts with democrathe dockworkers, the "first wave", the nations such as Britain, the chose to strike. Other workers fol- | Burmese people will gain experi

She laughed. "Not in the least bit everyone in the cities and towns, it because the so-called market econseemed, showed a courage equal to omy is only open to some. Investors those who stormed the Berlin Wall | will help only a small elite to get the following year. Without guns, richer and richer. This works ordinary people began to reclaim | against the very idea of democracy because the gap between rich and Then the slaughter began. The poor is growing all the time. The army fired point blank at the crowds same applies to tourism. They and bayoneted those who fell. In should stay away until we are a Thailand and Norway, I have inter- i democracy. Look at the forced labour that is going on all over the partment of Trade funded a seminar of Burma, Laos and Thailand meet. epic events, most of them speaking country. A lot of it is aimed at the in London called An Introduction To Under the Slore, heroin production | publicly for the first time. "One of | tourist trade. It's very painful. Roads and bridges are built at the expense Karen National Union. "As he tried | The organiser was Peter Godwin, a | Chris Beyrer and Faith Doherty, | right there, in front of me," said Ko | of the people. If you cannot provide one labourer you are fined. If you **cannot afford the fine, the children** are forced to labour."

During the first years of her house arrest soldiers were ordered rounded by troops. They weren't i to lie with their ears to the ground Ms Suu Kyi was two years old | even identifying bodies, so the par- | so as to detect her "tunnelling" to ents would never know. The dead | the house next door. They failed to and wounded were all mixed up. grasp that she had no intention of escaping, or seeking exile. In the Now well into his eighties, Ne | outside world, her name became a byword; and people would pass her house just to be reassured by the sound of her playing her plano. "Will Burma be free in the fore-

seeable future?" "Yes!" she replied unhesitatingly.

"That's not just a dream?"

"No. I calculate it from the will of long green fence of number 54 Uni- the people and the current of world versity Avenue. The house is a opinion ... I knew I'd be free

Desmond Tutu - like Ms Sua down to Inya Lake and to a trip-wire, Kyi, a Nobel Peace Prize winner --a reminder that this was one said recently: "International pressure can change the aituation in Ms Suu Kyi is a striking, glam- Burma. Tough sanctions, not penny, However, what has begun in ples demanded autonomy. In March orous figure who looks much constructive engagement. finally year over 30 years. Since they put | Burma is a familiar process in 1962 the army stepped in and seized younger than her 50 years and ap- brought about a new South Africa. pears at first to carry her suffering This is the only language that

What is hopeful is that there is seek to justify what the East Asian filled the prisons with his enemies, grit that has seen her through, the promise of sanctions in a rethough when she laughs this van- markable disinvestment campaign already well under way in the US. Based on the boycott of apartheid the US State Department says the prize is a cheap labour colony that lively free press; and along the way house arrest was a cypical exercise South Africa, selective purchasing Slore "routinely" uses slave labour promises to undercut even China he made himself extremely rich. by the regime to give itself a human laws have been enacted by a grow-In 1987 the man who called him- face. "I think they also miscalcu- ing number of US cities, including transport soldiers and construction In spite of a certain sound and self "Brilliant as the Sun" produced lated," she replied, "that the National San Francisco, These make illegal municipal contracts with companies

A Massachusetts Representative. Byron Rushing, who has written a with Burma. The EU countries have added up to the number nine. Ac- fronting you, how do you reclaim the selective purchasing law for his own state, told me: "In the case of South Richard Needham, told Parliament, While most Western aid remains was his lucky number. The people in the first people to Africa, we were able to put pressure "The Government's policy is to pro- suspended; the Japanese' govern- of Burma did not share his luck. As face this dilemma. In Buddhism we on a whole range of companies, like vide no specific encouragement to ment gives \$48.7 million a year and most of them kept their savings in are taught the four basic ingredi- General Motors, Coca-Cola, Pensi ents for success: first, you must Cola, and most eventually withdrew. And that really added to the pressure on the white government. That In the same breath he said, "British Burma's most profitable export is the regime was at war with the stugoing to happen overnight, but we course look to our embassy there reaching the streets of American and moment of uprising came precisely I said that the British Foreign have started. The civilised world



Paul Evans

T WAS a beautiful spring morning in London. Disgorged from the underground station at Victoria, blinking in the unaccustomed sunlight, I made it across the road, drawn by huge London plane trees in a park. The boughs of these trees, all chalk and beige camouflage, are so startlingly clear of grime because they exfoliate and remain fresh.

New leaves and little green female baubles were pushing out next to the brown spiky grenades of last autumn's seed heads which scatter seeds in spring. London planes are a hybrid between oriental and American species, forest grown in Spain and planted in England in 1650. They are perfectly at home in London's urban forest and reflect its cosmopolitan nature. The park was closed.

I wandered north and stumbled into a very strange world. Belgravia is an exclusive ghetto of the ultra-affluent. The spotless streets in front of elegant white and cream colonnaded Georgian houses surround garden squares. These gardens are meticulously kept, not a weed in sight. No litter, no flocks of pigeons — in fact no avian, floral or human ragamuffins. The policemen carry guns.

I was drawn to the gardens by more stately plane trees, breezy den squares where the very expen- shape of the tap-root, the florets or white flowering cherries and crab- sive cars were parked, my mood apples and sweet scented barberry | darkened. What would happen if I from Japan and China. The bronzy leaves and blossom of snowy mespil (Amelanchier) or shadblow as it is called in America, reminded me of springtime in the Angalachians. But the gardens in the squares had iron railings and locked gates. The gardens were deserted. On such a beautiful day, there was not a soul in sight.

I had been thinking about trees and health and about the way we project our values, attitudes and gravia squares - the dandelion, concepts on to trees to make them

44

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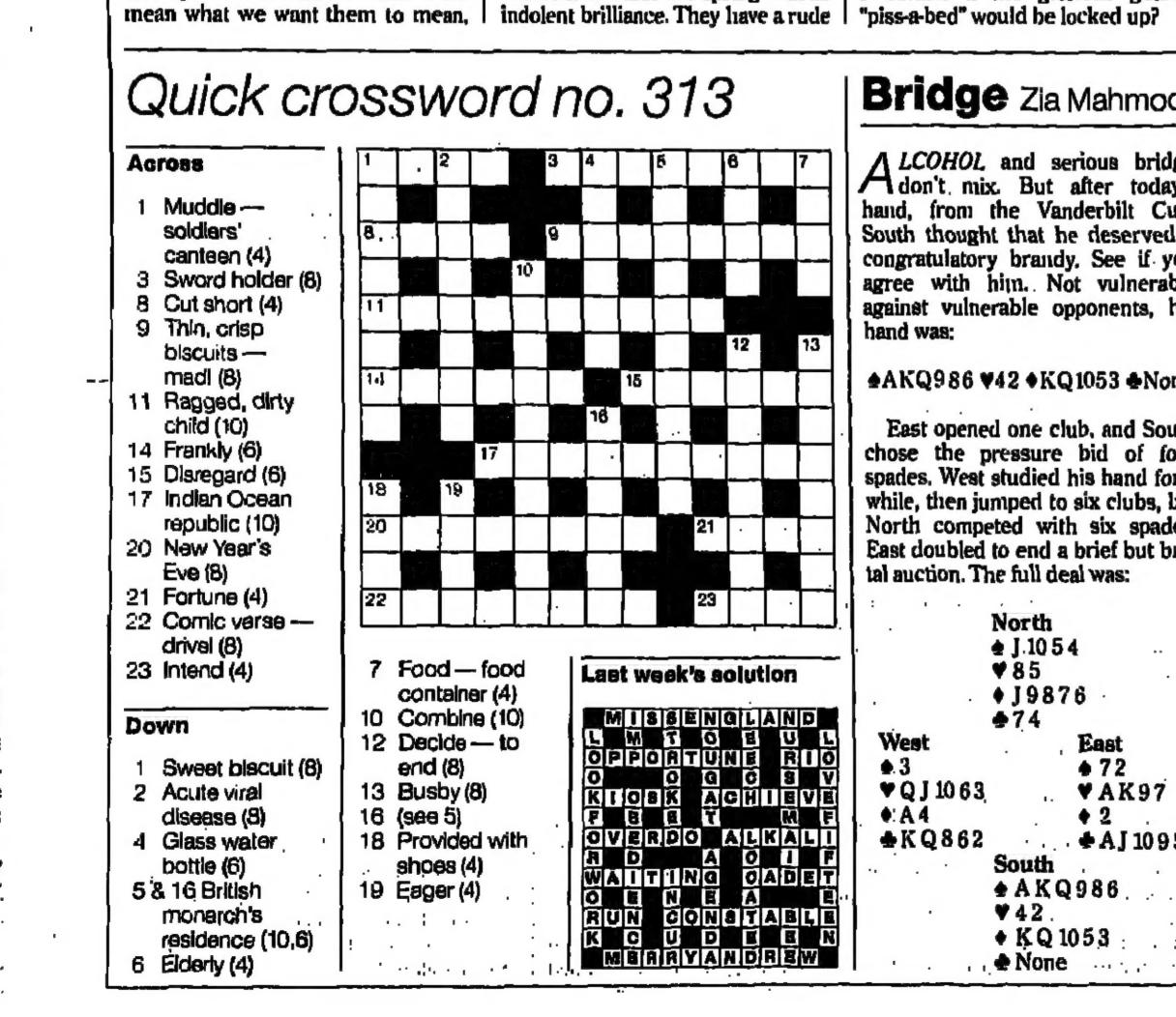
locked away.

prowl round the outside of the garjumped the fence? Would seeds shower from my clothes? Are the rich afraid that if people like me were allowed in there would be sycamore seedlings in the lawns, brambles in the flower-beds, Japanese knotweed in the shrubberies?

Back in the vulgar, vernacular landscapes of home, where I can roam with impunity. I am met by a plant that is the antithesis of the Bel-Dandelions burst into spring with an

instead of appreciating them for and irrepressible beauty. The bane | 13 a3 Bd7 14 b3 f5 15 f3 Nf7 what they are. And here the super- of tidy gardeners and landscape rich see them as treasures to be architects, they spangle grass verges, irreverently jostling care-I've always thought that an appre- fully planted daffodils. Famed for ciation of trees encouraged a gen- their diuretic properties, medieval crosity of spirit. Not here. Forced to apothecaries called them *dens leonis*, flanks. the lion's tooth because of either the jagged leaves. By the 15th century, the French dent de lion became dawndelvoun.

Because of the twin British tradi- is collapsing tions - gardens and colonialism the dandelion spread throughout the world as an impudent freeloader, establishing as a weed and a b6! More scope for White's bishcurse to lawns everywhere. "The ops. Ng5 30 Bd3 Qg4 31 bxc7 sun never sets on the empire of the | Nxc7 32 Kh1 Nb5 Losing a piece, dandelion," wrote Alfred Crosby. Everywhere except the highly manicured garden squares of Belgravia it seems. If it was rare and expensive, 35 Bxg5 Qxd5 36 Bh6 Resigns, 1 wonder if the glorious golden | White mates by 37 Qf8+ or by Ne6 | Kb6 mate. If exd6 2 Nf6 dxe5 (d5 3



Chess Leonard Barden

DUTH SHELDON is surely the UK's chess player of the month. | attracts bundreds of players. This The Manchester 15-year-old's recent results include first prize at prize. Stockport, a win over England's No 4 grandmaster, and third place at Newcastle, where she narrowly missed the IM norm.

Sheldon's rapid advance augurs well for this year's team olympiad in Armenia, where the England men will be the top-seeded western squad and the women players are now also in a position from which to h3-f4, compete for medals.

The Leigh Congress Prixette, mandatory women's boards in the UK League and Varsity match, and | e3! 19 fxe3 Bxg3 20 Ng2 Rg8 master coaching for girls have all 21 Qe2 Nec6 22 cxd5 Rdg7! 23 contributed to rising standards.

example, it is long overdue for Rd1 Rxh5 28 Kf1 Qh1+ 29 Ng1 Rf5+ women's boards to be included in 30 Nf4 Bxf4 31 Ke1 Rxg1+ 32 Kd2 the final stages of the BCF's intercounty and inter-club knockouts.

Ruth Sheldon-GM John Nunn, **King's Indian Defence**

1 d4 Nf6 2 c4 g6 3 Nc3 Bg7 4 A fine finish to an imaginative attack. e4 d6 5 Be2 0-0 6 Nf3 e5 7 d5 ILLUSTRATION: BARRY LARKING | a5 8 Be3 Ng4 9 Bg5 f6 10 Bh4 | mate. Na6 11 Nd2 Nh6 12 0-0 Qe8 16 Rb1 Bb6 17 Bf2 Nc5 18 b4 axb4 19 axb4 Na4 20 Qc2

It's a familiar strategy so far in this opening, where White has more space while Black snipes on the

Qe7? Nxc3 21 Qxc3 Qe7 with Ra2 and Qg5 counterplay is better. 21 Nb5! Rfc8 22 Ra1 The a4 knight is out on a limb, and by the a time it regains safety Black's game

Bxd2 23 Qxd2 fxe4 24 fxe4 Qg5 25 Be3 Qh4 26 Qc2 Bxb5 27 cxb5 Nb6 28 Rxa8 Nxa8 29 but if Nf7 33 Rc1 and Black can't escape the pin.

33 Qf2 Nc7 34 Be2 Qxe4 37 Qf7+.

North East

6**±**

No.

The defenders did well to take a

and king of hearts and the ace of

diamonds, but North-South were

had conceded just 500 points on a

make a vulnerable six clubs.

1.

Dble

South Weat

64

No

Sutton's Easter congress always was the game that decided first

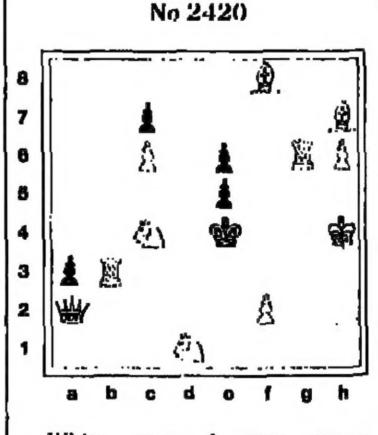
GM Julian Hodgson-GM Keith Arkell, French Defence

1 d4 e6 2 e4 d5 3 e5 c5 4 c3 Nc6 5 Nf3 Qb6 6 a3 c4 7 Nbd2 Na5 8 h-4 Bd7 9 h5 0-0-0 10 g3 65 11 exf6? Better to keep the centre closed, and to regroup by Ngl-

gxf6 12 Bh3 Bd6 13 0-0 e5 14 Bxd7+ Rxd7 15 Rb1 e4 16 Nh4 Ne7 17 b3 Qc7 18 bxc4 Nf3 Qf7? Missing Qd7l 24 dxc6 More could be done, however; for Qh3 25 cxb7+ Kb8 26 Rb2 Rg5l 27 Rxd1+ 33 Qxd1 Bxe3+ 34 Kc2 Qe4+ 35 Qd3 Rf2+ and wins,

24 dxc6 Qxh5 25 cxb7+ Kb8 26 Rb2 Qh3 27 e4 Rg4 28 e5? 28 d5l (5 29 Be3 is unclear.

fxe5 29 dxe5 Nc4 30 Rc2 Rh4! 31 Ngxh4 Bf2+! 32 Kxf2 Qg3



White mates in two moves. against any defence (by Charles Planck). Black has only king moves, but White is spoilt for choice.

No 2419; 1 Ba8. If e6 2 Kb7 Kd5 3 Nd7) 3 Ne4.

Bridge Zia Mahmood

A LCOHOL and serious bridge Adon't mix. But after today's hand, from the Vanderbilt Cup. South thought that he deserved a congratulatory brandy. See if you agree with him. Not vulnerable against vulnerable opponents, his

▲AKQ986 ¥42 ♦KQ1053 ♣None

chose the pressure bid of four spades. West studied his hand for a while, then jumped to six clubs, but tal auction. The full deal was:

1 · · · ·	brief:			
North				
≜ J.1054	South	West	North	East
♥85	: .			1.
♦ J9876	1≜	2♥	3♠ .	4
● 74	. 4♠	5	No ·	No
t East	5♦	57	5	6
● 72	No	No	6.	69
J1063 ♥AK97	6	No	No	7.
4 . + 2	No	No	7.	No
Q862 A J 10953	No .	7NT	No	No
South	Dble	No .		No .
▲ AKQ986	. ·			
∀42 .	The ear	ly round	s of bidd	ing were
◆ K Q 1053	reasonable	enoug	h. North	's three
. A None	spades wa	is a pre	emptive.	raise of

his partner's simple overcall. East passed five clubs for fear of two spade losers, but when North-South went to five spades East gambled that his partner had a singleton in that suit and contested further with diamond ruff in addition to the ace | six clubs.

His bid of seven clubs is harder to explain, though sometimes when pleased with their efforts, for they | each side has a massive fit in two suits both can make 12 tricks, 60 East opened one club, and South | deal where their opponents could | East decided to take insurance. No doubt for the same reasons, North If someone had told South that | battled on with seven spacles. At this his team was going to lose 19 IMPs point East really ought to have North competed with six spades. on this board, perhaps his cognac | doubled, but when he passed, West East doubled to end a brief but bru- would not have tasted so fine! The thought he was being invited to bid auction at the other table was not 7NT.

> In the heat of battle, both seemed to forget that a short while ago they had been prepared to settle for five

> South happily doubled 7NT and North led a spade, so the penalty was 1,700 points.

The player who had been South at the other table choked on his drink when he heard this result; but to his credit he said nothing, and was rewarded when his team hung on to win the match. 1111

That, of course, called for another brandy - and this time it really did taste sweet! 1. 1. 1

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Profit motive robs China's heritage

Andrew Higgins

locked concrete strongroom holds victims of the chaos creeping across China: a decapitated stone Buddha, seven Ming dynasty tablets, dozens of broken Tang horses, 11 plundered dinosaur eggs.

the back of a lorry.

"The driver was very nervous customs at the busiest crossing gle seizure of smuggled Chinese

Chinese town of Shenzhen. Had the other haul only a week before had re-driver not been so edgy, his wares covered 748 items. Together, the NEXT TO a muddy river mark-ing the Hong Kong border, a shops along Hollywood Road, the total number of Chinese antiques centre of Hong Kong's flourishing business in smuggled Chinese antiquities, and private collections in London, Tokyo or New York.

Instead, the driver led police to a car park at a Hong Kong industrial Part of a huge cargo of cultural | estate where five people were waitcontraband, they had arrived at the | ing to take delivery of his plunder, Lok Mak Chau border post in the | collected from across China. He and middle of the night, concealed in | the leader of the gang were arrested. The 1,183 antiques confiscated in March at Lok Mak Chau and now and avoided looking anyone in the under lock and key awaiting return eve," said Kwok Sinchik, head of to China represent the biggest sin-

point between Hong Kong and the | relics by Hong Kong customs. An-



seized in the whole of 1994 and 1995.

The surge of confiscations only a tiny fraction of the total volume of smuggled wares - suggests fed by tomb and temple thieves, triads and corrupt Chinese officials. Further evidence of the flood is the

"Getting a Tang dynasty horse be quite exciting," said Loong Meeseen of Sotheby's in Hong Kong. "Now they are everywhere."

The brazen looting of Chinese artefacts, which now make up a significant part of a worldwide trade worth an estimated \$1 billion a year, threatens political as well as cultural menace. For centuries, mandarins sign of disorder.

mock army of Qin Shi Huangdi, the | knife, to be washed and used again. first emperor of unified China.

way in Hubei province unearthed getting them mixed up. 1,600 graves up to 2,700 years old.

- a requirement never met as it would bring certain arrest.



▲ SAKO got married on the day | in many ways relieved that his Δ the Buddha died. In Japanese the word for "Buddha" and the word for "thing" sound the same but are written differently, and in dea sharp increase in an illicit trade | termining a nickname for the day in the week when everything was most likely to go wrong the ancient astrologers managed to confuse this deflating prices in Hollywood Road. point. The Buddha therefore dies once a week; and since few Japanese even in wretched condition used to couples are prepared to risk such an ill-omened start to married life most hotels offer a special deal on that day to try to boost bookings.

The venue for Asako's wedding was the Grand Hotel. Not only was the Grand giving the "A" range of food, flowers, place settings and so on at the "B" rate; but the bridal costume division was renting out three have regarded grave-robbing as a | changes of outfit --- a padded crimson kimono, a gleaning white ki-Today, the treasure-laden burial mono, and a wedding dress floating mounds of former imperial capitals in layers of tulle — for the price of attached civil engine such as Luoyang and Xi'an are the two. The *pièce de résistance* was the to keep a low profile. point of departure for many of the | magnificent, three-tier wedding goods that flood, mostly undetected, cake on a silver stand, the "A" cake into Hong Kong aboard lorries and at a knock-down price. The bride boats. The profit motive has so and groom cut the cake together to restraint that a thief even clapping and the clicking of cammanaged to steal the severed head | eras. It turned out, however, that the of a terracotta warrior from Xi'an's | cake was not for eating, being made greatest cultural treasure, the buried of plastic with a soft spot for the

We ate lunch at a leisurely pace China's economic boom has not but on the particularly anspicious only unleashed rampant greed, but day of great peace it takes splitit has also produced a building blitz second timing with a strict maximum that has uncovered thousands of an- of three hours per wedding to keep cient tombs. Construction of a high- all the parties moving along without

The day was Asako's choice. Her In a desperate attempt to staunch | father was not happy about it bethe flow. China routinely executes | cause, superstition aside, he didn't smugglers. Hong Kong imposes no | want all the relations, especially on restrictions on the trade in antiques, the groom's side, to think he was stolen or otherwise, other than a de- | skinflint. He gave in because mand that all goods entering the ter- Asako's elder sister, less down to ritory be listed on an official | earth, had insisted on a full Catholic wedding ceremony. The Christian style of nuptials, with all the vows and hymns and Mendelssohn, is fashionable these days and Asako's sister, who had a hazy notion that when it came to Christianity Catholics were stricter about fidelity nial Act and replaced it with a than the others, thought she may as well go the whole hog.

Asako's sister's husband, a computer salesman, ran off with a career ther, a poorer and a wiser man, was been any the wiser.



John Vallins

It is now a nature reserve of 49,000 hectares, with ocean on three sides, and as timeleas a space as you would hope to find. The winds out to Norman Bay. On either bank stand mysterious, rounded Aboriginal presence here. There is 'Names like those of "Looern" and greener grass.

Notes & Querles Joseph Harker

ID people ever use the word "gruntled" to describe a happy person?

PERSONALLY have always hoped I to be both "kempt" and "shevelled" on the same day. - Mary Phillips-Rickey, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

HICH animal can tolerate **VV** the greatest temperature range?

TARDIGRADES or water bear animalcules must be among the animals with tolerance to the greatest temperature range. They can be general election. It would then both frozen in liquid nitrogen and have no legality, but how would boiled under pressure. Aside from | it be ousted from office? this they are also resistant to a variety of corrosive chemicals and can revive after almost complete dessi- C have a written constitution and affect human, animal or plant cation. They survive such extremes that, for all practical purposes, the behaviour or any other agriculby entering a state of suspended ani- sovereignty of Parliament is limited | tural phenomenon? - Jane mation which they can hold for at only by Acts and Treaties which least a century. - A Leask, Sydney, Australia

IVI thermophilic bacteria can sur | cleely this in 1716. In 1694 a Trienvive the extreme temperatures of nial Act was passed requiring boiling water (100C) and freezing in elections to be held at least once liquid nitrogen (-196C). Their sur- every three years, establishing for- weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to vival is successively reduced in mul- mal terms for Parliament for the 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted ticellular organisms. However, I first time. Following the election of to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringwas told of an experiment where a 1715, Parliament repealed the Trien- 1 don Road, London EC1M 3HQ

cockroach frozen in liquid nitrogen walked away once it thawed at room | Septennial Act requiring elections temperature. In a tropical region, I only once every seven years. As a inadvertently "cooked" a cockroach for three minutes at full power in an general election of 1722. There is no 800-watt microwave oven. On opening the door, the cockroach, albeit groggy, crawled out, - Rohan de Silva, London

A GOVERNMENT with a majority in both Houses of Parliament and acquiescent civil servants announces at the end its five-year term that it is going to stay in office, and not call a

NEN that Britain does not Parliament itself can abrogate or alter, there is no constitutional check on Parliament's extending its A ICRO-ORGANISMS such as term. In fact Parliament did pre- as the Stars and Stripes or the

result, this parliament sat until the constitutional bar on a modern parliament's similarly prolonging itself. - Professor David Eastwood, Uni versity of Wales, Swansea

Any answers':

1_1 OW do the French decide T the gender of English words adopted into their language? -Tim C Bedwick, Saltburn, Cleveland

IS THERE any evidence that I the gravitational pull of the moon and/or its brightness Sherman, Rome

OES the European Flag have L' a nickname, in the same way Union Jack? - SL Perrott, London

Answers should be e-mailed to

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Letter from Kyoto Jane Norman

Wedding precision

younger daughter wanted to keep things simple,

Simple or not, a daunting array of relations had been mustered on both sides, everybody.over a certain age in black. I wondered what they would do for a funeral. A woman at my table pointed out the men's white ties and the women's brocade sashes. At a funeral the ties and the sashes would be black too.

Pride of place was given to the matchmaker, who was the presi-dent of Asako's father's company. I happened to know that he had never till this day set eyes on either Asako or the groom but a Japaneso wedding requires a suitably mellow and distinguished person to fill the matchmaker's chair. The real catalyst, the wife of Asako's mother's calligraphy teacher, who was friendly with the aunt of an unattached civil engineer, preferred

▲ SAKO was 28, worked in a L bank, and lived with her parents. Under the circumstances she agreed to have a look at the civil engineer. The first meeting was followed by a private conversation in a coffee shop; and the relationship was comented with a visit to a temple garden to view the autumn leaves. The only discordant note in a very sensible love story was struck when Asako forgot her husband's name during her speech. calling him Hiroshi instead of Satoshi

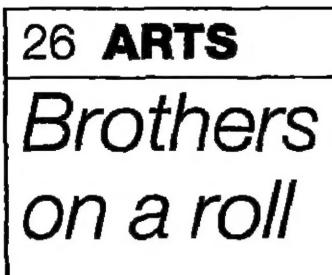
It seemed unlikely that their honevmoon would be the time for bride and groom to get to know each other any better. In the space of 10 days they were due to visit Rome. Venice. Paris, London, the Jungfrau and the Castle of Neuschwanstein.

Asako spent most of her wedding out of sight, being draped in the next number by the Grand Hotel's resident dresser. At each appearance there was just time to pose for photographs before she had to rush back to change. Her face was powdered white, her lips were a pursed red dot, and on her head sat a wig of oiled, shining hair. The idea seems to be to blot any trace of a bride's individuality; and if Asako had woman from a rival company shortly | caught a cold and been replaced by after the wedding; and Asako's fa- a stand-in none of us would have

A Country Diary

A USTRALIA: Wilson's Promontory ("the Prom") is the souththe land-link was cut.

"Tiddalik" survive. The slopes and mountains are covered with vegetation where kookaburras, spectacular crimson rosellas and lorikeets ernmost. tip of the Australian perch in the Coast Tea-Trees. There mainland, 130 miles south-east of [are still, silent wetlands where white Melbourne. Its rocks and moun- egrets and white-faced herons tains were formed 400 million years | search for food. Towards dusk we ago and once stretched between | drove along the road to the small Victoria and Tasmania. When the town of Foster. A plaque beside the climate warmed and sea levels rose, stream commemorates the six men who first found gold there. On the way, we saw a large mother wombal closely followed by her young. She peered at us but then continued calmly munching spiky grass while wide, sandy bed of the tidal river | the young one hid behind her and occasionally peered around. A single kangaroo bounced across the boulders, smoothed and streaked | road. Then whole groups and famiby the action of the elements. It lies came out in the cool of the would be hard to miss the sense of evening, some browsing on all fours and here and there, an adult moving archaeological evidence and myths. | easily in glant leaps, towards



MUSIC **Caroline Sullivan**

A HAT Oasis did next: played to 78,000 people at the Manchester City football ground. The two shows, which sold out in an hour, were ostensibly to thank fans for making them the | it somewhere near the class of Pulp biggest British band of the last 10 years, but there was doubtless an ulterior motive. It would not be beneath Noel and Our Kid Gal- of postmodern moral blankness nor lagher to play their beloved team's the super-clever intricacy of the stadium just for the pleasure of re- Bryan Singer film. But it works, and fusing entry to United players.

But if Ryan Giggs had turned up, he would have been just another body in the celebrity crush backstage. Patsy Kensit and a shoal of soap stars headed the guest list, which raises one of the most perplexing Oasis questions. Why are the rich and beautiful so eager to hob-nob with the strikingly ordinary Gallagher brothers? Answer that and you'd have the key to the Oasis phenomenon.

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The music, loutishly marvellous as it is, can't be the whole reason that T-shirts were selling at a rate of 20 per minute. Nor can it be their dress sense. It is probably not even Noel's admission to having been a teenage burglar.

Rather, Oasis's secret recipe seems a combination of all the above, plus a meat-eating, maidenravishing virility that inspires girls to go semi-naked on cold spring

Maine Road is their promotion to the stadium band élite. The 120 personnel involved in the show caterers to third violinist - made their days of playing cubbyholes seem far more remote than just two years ago.

Yet the payroll belied the simplicity of the show, which was essentially five men banging guitars Oases used none of the special sculptures to produce exhilarating works of pure art effects deemed de rigueur for stadidynamic performers. Liam's stage It's all in the can manner, which once consisted of a "You lookin' at me, poonk?" scowl, ART now extends to ambling around in sleepy incomprehension — and he's the frontman.

That it would be great, however, **HERE'S** something quite was predestined. Take 15 bumptious tunes familiar from incessant sculpture show at the Leeds City radio play, add Oasis's arrogance | Art Gallery (until June 30). The and the drama of a stadium at sunset | sculptures, collected here for and it couldn't not feel like one of the the first time by themselves, are gigs of the year. When Liam sang "I | from a seminal period in Johns's feel supersonic", you believed him. | career, 1958-65. It's a small Anyone would feel supersonic if and unassuming exhibition, 38,000 people were echoing every | tucked away in a single gallery word of his every song.

· · · ·

Wonderwall, the ballad that helped | comes as a relief to be able to their Morning Glory album sell 8 | see and experience his work million copies. Although the broth- without stampeding hordes. ers did it as an atypical duet, it was | Particularly as Johns's art is surpassed by Roll With It. De fundamentally contemplative, servedly so, too, because for brain- requiring time in order to fully less exhilaration it is unmatched by any other pop song this decade. It was conceived for terraces, and as sculptures which were commonthe chorus of "You got to say what | place, impersonal and mass-proyou say, don't let anybody stand in | duced, such as beer cans, light your way" rolled into the night sky. | bulbs and an ordinary flashlight It would be tragic if Oasis ever de | Cast in bronze or modelled in cided to make a concept album. plaster or Sculpmetal (a clay-like They could never be better than medium with a metallic finish) they are now.

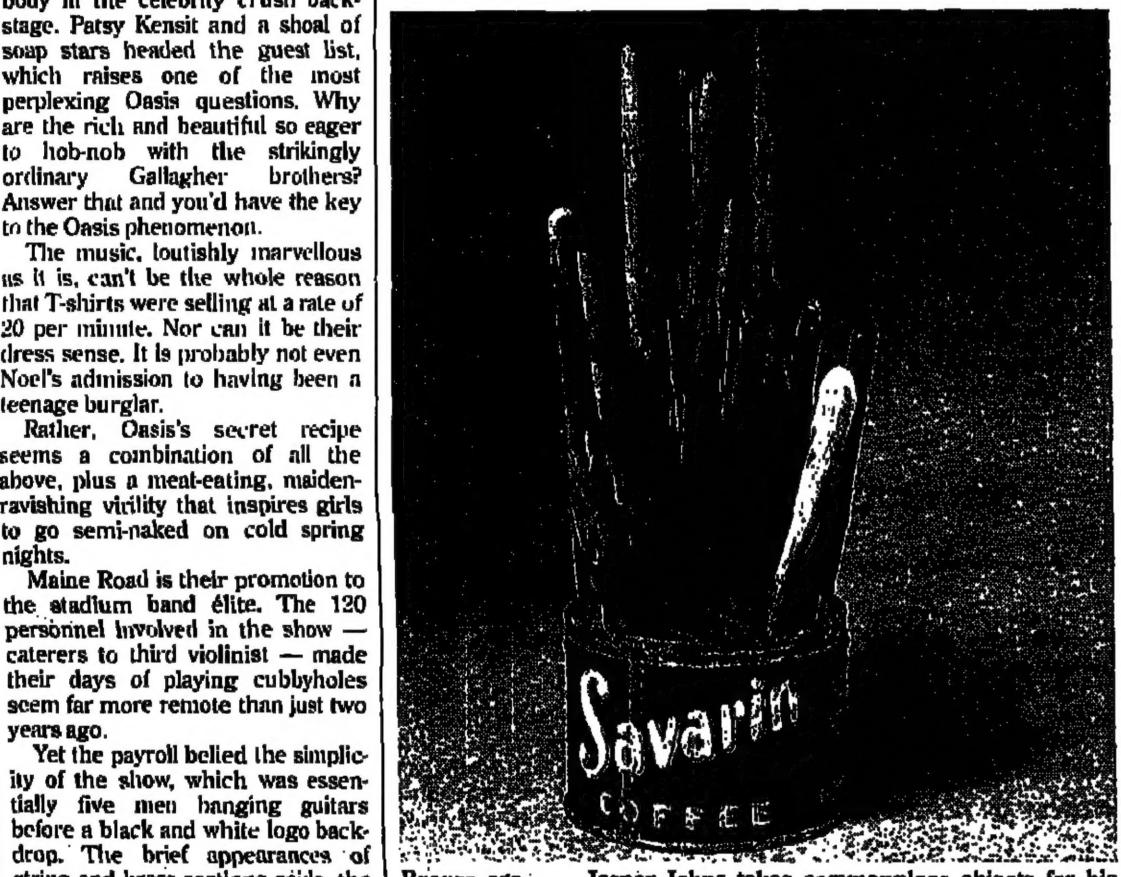
The Saint and the sinners

CINEMA **Derek Malcolm**

F YOUR brain or tongue can get round Things To Do In Denver When You're Dead, the title of Gary Feldman's debut feature is a bit of a come-on. And so, it turns out, is the film, which thriller that achieves more or less what it sets out to do with a feline grace and a sense of irony that puts Fiction and The Usual Suspects.

Not that it is really like either. It hasn't got the Tarantino film's sense that's all that matters.

It starts like something out of a



string and brass sections aside, the | Bronze age . . . Jasper Johns takes commonplace objects for his

Carl Freedman

space. For such a centrally Unexpectedly, the apex wasn't | important 20th century artist, it experience its effect.

Johns chooses objects for his they are made in such a way that | is art?" Essential viewing.

Some of the sculptures lack this brilliant crystallisation and are more like surrealist visual puns. But this show successfully answers its own question "What

Advice Service, which records the final thoughts of his dying clients for their Denver families.

Efficient as it is, it is not doing well, and when he is summoned by The Man With A Plan (Christophe Walken in a wheelchair) to frighten away an unsuitably dim boyfriend from his beloved daughter, he feel bound to take his chances.

He collects a posse of his former colleagues, one of whom is a projectionist in a downtown porno house (Christopher Lloyd) and another punch-drunk boxer who uses dead bodies as punch-bags in the mortu ary he looks after (Treat Williams).

Buscemi) is sent after the them, and it's not going to be a pretty sight since The Man With A Plan is impatient with failure.

With a cast like this and a sharply funny screenplay by Scott Rosenberg, Denver is rather more than a set of good performances - all the better, Walken apart, for being cast largely against type.

Fleder not only uses Denver intelligently - a location that's fresher than LA or New York --- but also in- film's tagline "Don't call me babe" fuses the film with the kind of - that would make Charlton Heswarmth and feeling some of the old | ton as Moses grimace. westerns had when dealing with human dinosaurs trying to make it implants then?" said the doorman at They, of course, are only capable | within a context that's no longer | the preview theatre. I'm afraid he of frightening each other, and end | there. It could have been a difficult | was more or less right.

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mix, but it comes off triumphanth David Hogan is a music video alumnus, and you'd guess that straight away as the Baywatch babe goes into pulp fantasy:formergangsterup botching the job by killing botha sinuous, chest-revealing night-clubJimmy The Saint (Andy Garcia)of their prey. That means hitmana sinuous, chest-revealing night-clubtakes us through his Afterlifeextraordinaire Mr Shrrr (Steve)a shoe and throwing it heel-first into the throat of a motormouth in the front row. Tat for tit, as it were.

> That, however, is the best part of Barb Wire. What follows is an incomprehensibly plotted thriller set in a future which, if it comes about would make gazing at Ms PA Lee the only possible pleasure. Dressed to kill as tightly as leather allows and literally doing so with monoto nous regularity, she is asked to mouth dialogue - including the

"Come to see Twin Peaks with

they generate a deep ambiguity concerning their status. Are they artistic representations or are they just replications of the original object?

Painted Bronze (1960) is two Ballantipe Ale cans cast in bronze, complete with painted labels. Superficially it looks real, yet the surface and edges of the cans are slightly uneven, the lettering too free and schematic. It sits there, quietly humming with its perpetual oscillation between reality and illusion. The more you look at his

sculptures the more the different levels of conceptual and perceptual reality go into a kind of vertiginous spin. The result is an exhilarating big-dipper ride for the mind, where certainty is constantly lost and recovered, and ends with the conviction that what Johns has done is to reveal an essence of pure art.

The universal challenge of being heroic in tight trousers

TELEVISION Nancy Banks-Smith

• Napoleon and the BBC's side, is | criment was selling off soldiers at 50 back and a-rollicking we will go. guineas a go, an enterprising early When Sean Bean gets an award for | form of privatisation. rollicking, I hope he remembers to thank his parents for his elegant | somehow and a job lot of ladies, one legs and entertaining name. If with a memorable bust, one with a Cleopatra's nose had been an inch | title and one with ringlets. longer, the history of the world would have changed. If Bean's legs gent put it. had been six inches shorter, we'd have lost Waterloo. As it is, he looks tremendously heroic in tight the solar system tenth in distance from trousers and a rivulet of silver the sun whose existence was proposed buttons. He even looks fairly heroic on the basis of calculations of its in a tam-o'-shanter with a pompom.

ing. It is so obviously not quite what they had in mind when they were at An casy one. Rada. It must be a surprise, when you are a personable young lad, to be dragged half drowned from the freezing sea, shot, thrown in a water-filled grave and, as a valedie- | London School of Economics and tion, described as arse face. Notif Coward said firmly he would like to Challenge Final '96 (BBC2). play a part in which he was cheerful throughout and bone-dry,

Colin Firth would disagree. There | the sky, it occurred to you that they was a tremendous man-hunt ("View- | were just very good at sums. halloo!") in Sharpe's Regiment when the bad guys, one in a top hat ("Ah, analogue of mass in rotational Sir Henry!"), one with a twirly mouse motion but were porclessly impervitache ("How dare you look up at an | ous to classical music, null and vol officer!") and one in imminent dan- on the Christian calendar and a ger of apoplexy ('You're filth! What | busted flush on Shakespeare. are you? Filth!") hunted Sharpe, Harper, his friend, and Arseface, the Thomas wrote: "Play up! play up! lad who had understandably gone | and play the game!" Dylan Thomas off the whole idea of military ser- | could not have written "Play up play vice, over a disturbingly beautiful up! and play the game!" if you had salt marsh. It seemed in three minds | beaten him for a week with a cricket whether it was earth or sea or melt- | bat. I looked quite kindly on the lads ing mud. The galloping horses were after this. On Northcott R., and his silhouetted against a vast and vacant exciting shirt, studying methodolgy sky. It looked like the kingdom of of game theory. On Bradshaw N the conger cel. (This otherworldly from Krypton, studying artificial place is, apparently, Horsey Island neural networks.

what was going on but everyone was relieved ("Huzzal") when it was resolved in our favour. Briefly, hav-storming start but it's terribly early ing led the first battalion of the South days."... "Ten minutes to go, plenty Essex where, as Falstaff put it, they | of time to score 100 points." were peppered, Sharpe returned to The race is not always to the swill England to collect the second battal-ion. It had mysteriously vanished. A man with shorter legs would have Their captain had laid a £40 bet at 33 asked about a bit. Someone would probably have noticed 400 soldiers

in searlet and gold firing muskets Sharpe, being a hero, feigned death, re-enlisted under a false name and was drafted into the missing battal-CHARPE (ITV), that thorn in | ion. Apparently someone in the gov-

The Prince Regent came into it

"Bravo, Dickl" as the Prince Re-

Now sit up and look sensible. What name is given to the planet of effects on the orbits of Halley's come I dearly love to see actors drown- and the planets Pluto and Neptune? Oh, come on! Come on! All right.

> Add the square root of 196 to the cube root of 64.

Come on. You could become sulcidally depressed listening to the Imperial College in University Until, like the first twitter of the dawn chorus and a brightening o

They were sizzling stuff on the

They really believed that Dylan

off Felixstowe.) The story was about as intelligi-ble as a battle. No one was too clear
Jeremy ("Come on!") Paxman, gamely wearing a tie with a piece of pineapple on it to take their minds

to,1. How much did he win? 1 th Oh, come on, come on.

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being danced by the Royal claimed to be the surviving Anasta-Ballet for the first time in 18 years. sia; and in his first version of the During the intervening period it has slipped into a kind of twilight zone of scribbled notes, faded newspaper reviews and memories, and bringing it back to life has been a laborious business - it is almost like reviving the bloom of a pressed flower. It's for a very good reason that dance is always called the most ephemeral of the arts.

During the 18th and 19th centuries it was a miracle that ballets survived at all, for until this century there was no complete system for recording them. People scribbled notes and kept records, but essen- staging a new version. Although tially a new dancer had to learn a role from an older dancer or ballet | to advise the Royal Ballet on the master. This meant that the original cuts he'd planned to make, the resteps often got distorted - errors | vival still needed a live link to the could creep in through one dancer's first production. The pivotal figure faulty memory or another's flawed | sitting in the reliearsal studio has technique. And because dance been the ballerina Lynn Seymour. wasn't subject to copyright, people | who not only danced the title role changed ballets to suit themselves. but helped MacMillan create it. After Petipa and Ivanov created | Though she says she can't rementtheir Swan Lake in 1895, dozens of world, some wildly different from | chemistry in the rehearsal room") the original.

Now that dance notation is widely what MacMillan wanted. used, the lives of ballets are less precarious. Yet to get a work back | HE THINKS Anastasia was reason for dancing, whether it was each ballet unique. Rehearsal time drawn on a five-line stave, with sym- when it was made. The ballet still something they've rehearsed or bor- styles, to dance steps in convebols denoting the timing and plac- feels wildly contemporary and rowed from another ballet. They niently generalised ways. This is ing. But this system can only be hasn't lost an ounce of its expres- have to fight not to fall into cliched why it's so helpful to have dancers read and written by a small band of siveness." As she coaches a new movements". their lines before rehearsals, or mu- her knowledge of the role, Seymour istic accuracy is demanding, since to make Durante or her fellow ous mixture of altruism and anger. sicians practise their parts, dancers tends to sing the phrases that the Anastasia develops from a pre- Anastasias into clones of her choreologist.

watched, everyone seemed to what Kenneth wanted." spend much of the time just count- Whenever Seymour moved in to Anastasia has retreated inside her they might do it better." Anastasias respectively).

dered by the Bolsheviks along with came interested in her history after | woozy loss of control. Seymour says | a repertory as the Royal Ballet's, it | dently, "I'll be making my own role." | An exemplary revival.

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Dance to the music of time

Judith Mackrell on the Royal Ballet's reappraisal of Anastasia, which hasn't been performed for decades

ENNETH MacMILLAN'S reading about a Berlin mental pa-three-act ballet Anastasia is tient called Anna Andersen, who ballet he concentrated the plot into a dark, traumatic single act in which Andersen relives her past from her nospital ward. He later decided t expand the ballet to three acts, showing Anastasia's life at court But this version was much less pop-ular, criticised for being too long, confusingly narrated and unable to justify the musical patchwork of its

> After a couple of seasons the bal-let was dropped. MacMillan refused to abandon it and before his death in 1992 he often talked of his widow Deborah has been able ber specific details of what she conshe, more than anyone, knows

ing. Leading the counting was fine-tune a step that Parker had head. To dance a character's mind is In some revivals a young dancer into a screaming fit, and made a cir- be a real person."



new versions appeared around the tributed ("It was just part of the Lynn Seymour (front) rehearses Leanne Benjamin for the title role she danced in the 1967 première of Anastasia PHOTO ANTHONY CRICKMAY

it was always finding the meaning | can be hard to hold on to all the behind the steps that was her "main | idiosyncratic details that make "It's a kind of discipline, the music | woman wrestling with the loss of | neth wanted and the fun bit is to | This is an exhausting process. comes back and the steps come her identity. By the last act not only help them find themselves in it. to become harshly unballetic, but There's always the chance that

choreologist Monica Parker, who demonstrated, the choreography not easy, as Durante confirms. can almost creepily seem to metaing all of its movements to the dance actress and even in her late tant to have a script running the role. The act of dancing move participate in Vittoria's couplings. (who are first and second-cast she took Durante through details in don't think steps.' Actually I wish I mentarily turns them into that dramatist of death and decay. In ently to things," she says.

Flying south on the wings of a cormorant

THE Leeds-based English Northern Philharmonia is a rare visitor to London, writes Andrew Clements, Since Paul Daniel became the company's music director six years ago, however, he has steadily broadened the range of its activities, and a visit to the Barbican provided the best possible way of marking their progress. It is clear that when Daniel leaves for English National Opera in a year's time he will hemseath to .

his successor a highly resourceful and responsive band. There was a newly-commis-

eloned work to begin and a Mahler symphony to end, and between them were three opera extracts designed as a showcase for the superb bass, John Tomlinson.

Dancing For Cormorants, the new work by 23-year-old Andrew Sallist is confident, accomblished stuff. There are enough vivid ideas, inspired by a TV documentary about a Chinese

peasant who trains the birds to catch fish, to suggest that Sallis's musical imagination is a highly potent one.

The ENP were equally forward and committed in Mahler's First Daniel's view of the symphony was boldly drawn --- the first movement unfolded layer by layer with mounting intensity, the bucolic rhythms of the scherzo lurching like a juggernaut, the surreal funeral march yielding to schmaltzy lyricism.



Sex, the devil and hypocrisy THEATRE

ARTS 27

Michael Billington

STHERE a new style emerging at Stratford-on-Avon? In recent years we have been confronted by a meanngless eclecticism, but Gale Edwards's production of Webster's The White Devil in The Swan is verbally strong, visually clear and, like the main-house As You Like It played in period costume. You emerge discussing the play rather than arguing about the concept.

Edwards shows that sex is both the play's driving force and the source of moral double standards. Vittoria, the eponymous heroine, and the lustful Brachiano (Ray Fearon) are brought together by a fierce adulterous passion, but she is made the public scapegoat for their sins just as Brachiano's wife, Isabella, is castigated for provoking his infidelity. Webster emerges as a sharp-eyed analyst of male power structures.

Edwards makes the point clearly without denying the play's complexity. Jane Gurnett's Vittoria is a strongly sexual figure who can hardly wait to unlace her blood-red frock. But in the great trial scene she greets the ravings of the Cardinal, Monticelso, with monumental dignity. This is the high point of the evening, with Philip Voss's superb Monticelso lip-smackingly inveighing against whores as "poisoned perfumes" while peering surreptitiously down Vittoria's dress.

The idea that Webster's women from the written score and into the strong-willed and victimised dances' bodies is still an awkward it's not airy-fairy, it's about a concerned to ensure that today's is and memories are often over- is reinforced by Teresa Banham's business. The Benesh system real 20th century person. I feel re- Anastasias perform MacMillan's loaded and it's tempting for them to unusually vehement portraval of the records steps as abstract limbs ally lucky to have been around choreography "as if it was fresh, not smooth out differences between wronged Isabella. She is first seen kissing her husband's portrait: the one by which she is later poisoned. And when she takes on the moral who know a ballet's original con- responsibility for Brachlano's rejecprofessionals. So while actors learn generation of dancers, passing on Sustaining this dramatic and styl- ception. But Seymour isn't trying tion of her it is with a richly ambigu-

Webster's play is often thought of have to be shown every step by a others so diligently count. She says: pubescent girl in Act 1 to an adult younger self. "I tell them what Ken- as structurally fragmented: an accumulation of brilliant scenes and lines without a moral centre. But During a rehearsal of Anastasia that back and then you can remember has much of the choreography tell them what is or isn't working. Edwards binds it together by her emphasis on female resilience and by acknowledging contradiction of character. Richard McCabe's excellent Flamineo is both the Jacobean notated the ballet on its first cre- came into eloquent focus: Seymour "She's so tormented and angry morphose into the body and soul of intellectual malcontent and an incesation and who was now demonstrat. | was famous for taking risks as a | inside. Lynn says it's really impor- | the artist who originally performed | mous pander who clearly wants to

dancers. Shadowing her were Viv- fifties she can still make her body through your head as you dance. ments that were intimately tailored This production dismisses the lana Durante and Leanne Benjamin express Intemperate emotion. As She says, 'Don't think ballerina, to another's style and physique mo- cliched image of Webster as a the choreography she added a new, could rehearse this act in jeans. dancer. But Durante is unlikely to stead it focuses on Webster's lan-Anastasia tells the story of Tsar | wild force to a phrase simply by | When you've put on pointe shoes | morph into Seymour when she per- | guage which, in Agate's phrase, Nicholas II's youngest daughter, stressing the downward thrust of its it's difficult not to walk like a dancer forms Anastasia: "We're physically "ripples like the muscles in a statue who may or may not have been mur- steps; she turned a series of kicks and look a certain way. It's hard to very different and we react differ- of Rodin", and shows that women, in their sexuality and stoicism, offer a the rest of her family. MacMillan be- | cling of the upper torso look like a | For dancers performing as wide | "In the end," Durante says confi- | forceful counter to male corruption.

28 BOOKS All the joys of monkey business

Stuart Jeffries

Grooming, Gossip and the Evolution of Language by Robin Dunbar Faber 230pp £15,99

I / E USED to spend nearly a VV quarter of our time grooming each other, expressing mutual trust as our expert fingers stimulated the natural oplates of submissive bodies.

Admittedly, that was 30 million years ago, before we evolved into the big-brained, chattering, often physically inexpressive creatures we are today. One of the unexpected things this book does is to make us regret the loss of this asexual sensual world. Instead, we have language - that means of communicating

The horn of plenty

Steven Poole meets Lawrence Norfolk and finds him a disarmingly bright, young writer

HERE ARE rats in Lawrence Norfolk's new book. Infesting the topographically unpredictable buildings of 16th century Rome, they consciously plan and execute sanguinary wars of espionage There is even a deliberating ant.

phisms abound in The Pope's Rhi- childhood. "For a long time I research and you know everything noceros, furnishing both wry thought it didn't touch me at all," there is to know. Anything beyond Thatcher, and it all sounds a gloopy counterpoint to the human drama, Norfolk remembers, "but then, that, you're free." and a visceral narrative bedrock. "I when I think about the fights I got He felt a particular affinity with could be further from the effect and think most literary urges are really into, even as a seven-year-old - the period in which Lemprière is tone. Alay, felicitous, superintenvery primitive," Norfolk explains. other kids in hospital, if not me" set: "There's a similarity between dent, Hensher releases his stag-"And if you've got animals, you can't | He tails off. have nebulous, nuanced desires to move the story on - they eat, they Norfolk goes on to chatter about his odd mixture, of viciousness and fuck, they shit. If you can root your | love of skydiving ("the point is to, good manners. I think that's abroad action to those three really basic get beyond that - without being at the moment ... " things, you've got a pretty unassail- too karmic about it') and his time able story to tell."

He does. The Pope's Rhinoceros | in Bosnia in 1993 ("a kind of advenis a gargantuan, dazzling fable, ture"), is of a diamond-hard confi- ods, weaving locutions like based on the true story of how the dence beneath the modest exterior. ["transatlantic decollage" or, pun-Portuguese captured a rhinoceros for the pleasure-loving Pope Leo, only for their ship to be wrecked off the coast of Italy,

the Augustan-steampunk classical not sure anyone is going to read. what he now knows: "French, Ger, gifts of voice, comfortable in that mythology conspiracy-thriller, Lem- Norfolk chuckles, at the unlikeli- man, English, a bit of Latin, that's power with her own occasional inac- involve an intercourse between partprière's Dictionary, published when hood of his success; "It's 500 pages it." he was an unknown 27-year-old. It long, dense with classical allusions, Norfolk already has a couple of sher plumps for a different sense of it; require speech, with its returns won the 1992 Somerset Maugham and it's got no sex - of course it's new ideas for books. His eyes glint upper register; her name is (almost) and courtesies, between stages; Award and went on to sell half a mil- gonna be an international best- happily as he reveals that one might | Margaret. That one. In her busy ob- reach a formal ending in the signiflion copies worldwide.

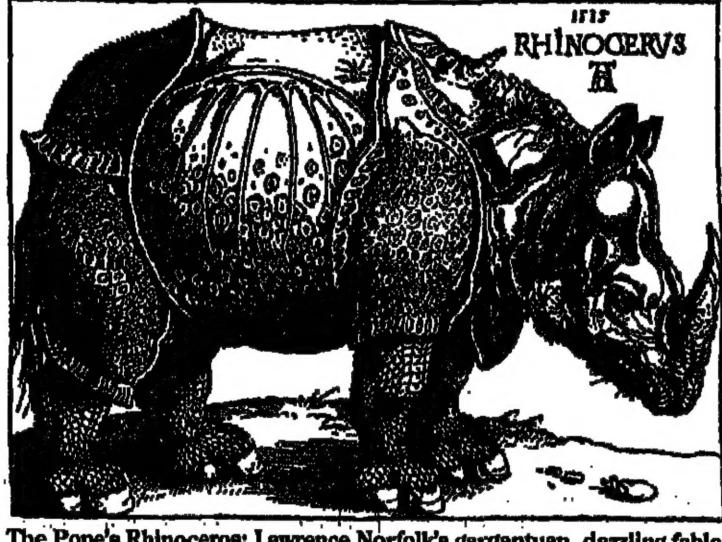
unassuming, slight figure, looking The Terminator for his latest novel, tion of such an improbable link runs if brief little fable of omniscience, these stages between people and much younger than his 32 years. an appeal to "pop-culture sensibil- thus. Norfolk was intrigued, while Disarmingly, almost the first thing ity". Mention of Asterix and Obelix staying in a French chateau last he says is: "As a child, I didn't want as comic models for the heroes in year, to hear the villagers extolling omniscience of the omniscient narto be a writer." Norfolk was born in The Pope's Rhinoceros elicits more the virtues of the boar-hunting life. | rator?) And in a noble and singular London in 1963, but his family nods. "It's a completely vulgar de- They all loved their boar; hunting, ending, it's with the late Prime Minmoved to Iraq, where his father, a vice. I'm always ready to junk the lit- yet only one person in recent mem- ister's now-fading eye that the aucivil engineer, built harbours and erary in the interests of having a boars proving too elusive. "It's like recuperative generosities. Not least. been blown up by the Americans, with cruise missiles".

They were then evacuated after how to write prose with a lot of hard object, it has an end, people pursue the Six Day War in 1967 — "It was information in it. You have to turn fairly traumatic and we lost every- description into a story; having a set no boar!". thing" --- and settled in Bath. of characters who are mouthpieces Lawrence's parents later divorced, | for theories is disastrous." Norfolk and he left home at 18 to read Eng. has also mapped research's limits. lish at King's. (He currently lives in "What it smells like, what it tastes | The Pope's Rhinoceros is published Chicago with his wife, Vinceta, a re- like - that's the hard stuff to get. by Sinclair-Stevenson, price £15.99. - Molesworth to Alles Thomas Traile

at a distance, that pale substitute Primates lived in groups as a for a trusting relationship based mutual defence against on pleasurably surrendering to another's touch.

Robin Dunbar, professor of psychology at Liverpool University, never expresses such nostalgia for the social bonding of our primate ancestors, but his book opens with the evocative implication that he may have been groomed by a monkey. He speaks of "the initial frieson of uncertainty in an untested relationship, the gradual surrender to another's avid fingers flicker-ing across bare skin, the light pinching and picking and nib-bling of flesh".

Dunbar's purpose here is to show how such grooming became an evolutionary boon, and, subsequently, a burden.



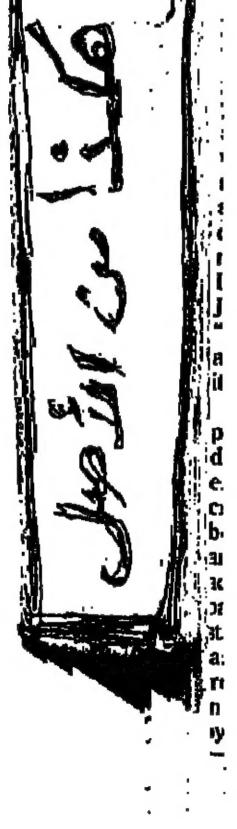
and repulse. There are herring, too. The Pope's Rhinoceros: Lawrence Norfolk's gargantuan, dazzling fable

seller!"

Pyrichon: "The technical thing of sists, with infectious logic. "It has an

ningly, "Anti-Geist", lightning-fast, ONFIDENCE is a prerequi- But he plays down his language

it single-mindedly all their lives . . .



1997 - N. 1

mutual defence against predators --- they weren't yet Aristotle's "political animals" but none the less needed others in order to flourish.

Grooming, because it required such a disinterested investment of time from the groomer and gave such endorphin-fuelled pleasure to the groomee, proved an effective means of social bonding. Moreover, it was the ultimate test against free riders exploiting social co-operation merely for their own benefit and giving nothing back --- that first and abiding stumbling block to society. You must be deeply attached to somebody or something in order to spend hours a day stroking and mauling them with no direct benefit to yourself.

know: lack of boars."

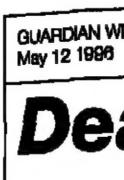
Contrast that world with modern industrial society, that emerging dystopia of individuals deprived of community and kinship support. Many urban adult are so far removed from society, Dunbar argues, that they make friends thanks to their children's contacts through school and clubs: "It may not be too much of an exaggeration to suggest that improved nursery school provision may be more important for the parents than for the children."

This deprivation, this need for society, is occasionally met by manipulators of beguiling language, which generates oplate highs in listeners when used in the right way. From Hitler to Charles Manson, we are exposed to exploitation by strangers. How bitterly ironic: language was the very thing that was supposed to bond us together in human sociGUARDIAN WEEKLY May 12 19

etics, to replace grooming with a time-effective communication now, it can be used as a tool by the exploiters.

To consider language as a social glue, as Dunbar does, is unusual: we have learned from linguistics, speech science and psychology how it is produced. what grammar does and how children develop language skills, but little about why we alone among the species have it. To go further and suggest that "language evolved to allow us to gos-sip" secms initially trite, but once one considers that language supplanted grooming as the means of bonding, it seems less resistible.

This absorbing book elevated gossip from its status as a social evil to a social good in writing that is dizzyingly multidisciplinary but shows great generosity to the ordinary reader.





RAINTREE "is the sort place people walk around with their heads under their arms", Norman Lewis once said. Apparently an ordinary Essex town, it is thought to lie in a pocket of the paranormal. Born 88 years ago in the terminal London suburb of Enfield, Lewis himself now lives outside Braintree in a parsonage. biography, Jackdaw Cake, will recall how the writer as a child was subjected to crystal-balling. His mother was a psychic artist able to emit ectoplasm through her vagina, while his father was a retail chemist. ond and, sadly, final part of Norman Lewis's autobiography. It comes 10 vears after the first volume, and takes us from Enfield to Guatemala via Brazil and Peru by way of Brain- be said for Voices Of The Old Sea, tree, heartland of the poltergeist. A | Lewis's classic account of the years wizard of deadpan wit, Lewis's cele- he spent in a Catalonian fishing vil- chalk and cheese yet they shared an not long after.) Lewis has often taken

Readers of his first volume of auto-The World, The World is the secpological exactitude the weirdest of the Costa Brava. rites and rituals. Here he describes its chief saint.

pathfinder. The early eighties saw a | ing, however, is a hoot. The two are | (The American novelist shot himself | the lyrical brilliance of his prose.

The Devil's Carousel by Jeff Torrington Secker & Warburg 226pp £15.99

IEFF TORRINGTON'S first U novel, the Whitbread prizewinning Swing Hammer Swing (1992), was set in the Gorbals in the late 1960s, just as the famous Glasgow slum was in the middle of being torn down. For his second book, Torrington has built himself a perfect working model of an automobile-production plant, late-1970s style. It could be Linwood, it could be Dagenham. But one thing's for certain - it's a human hell on earth.

Our first insight into life at the Centaur car factory in Chimeford comes to us care of a new recruit. Has Laker heard of Murphy's law? his supervisor asks him. "Well, this is where the bugger lives," The Centaur plant is an out-and-out disaster area, a place in which everything is set up to go wrong. Management despises its workers: the workers, unsurprisingly, despise their management. There's a ludicrously elaborate system of surveillance, yet it seems only to exacerbate the pilfering, skiving and sabotage. The union is just a bad joke, managing to be both obstructive and ineffectual. The whole thing's excruciating, like an engine with no oil in it. Swing Hammer Swing! was rightly acclaimed as a very funny book. The Devil's Carousel is also very funny, except that its humour is bloated and bad-tempered. "Midge, it was rumoured,

packed a sex-cannon that

Members of this House

Jeremy Maule Kitchen Venom by Philip Hensher Hamish Hamilton 260pp £16

 HATTERER readers will know by now the story on this novel. Philip Hensher is (it seems) indiscreetly gay, or gaily indiscreet, and is (no longer) a House of Commons Clerk. Both conditions bear heavily. as it happens, and for good on the achievement of his second fiction.

Kitchen Venom is a tightly crosscut London melodrama of hateful sisters and restaurant embarrassments, clerkly ennuis and afternoon sex. Add a probable suicide, the murder of a beautiful and charming to the heavy weights of obstinacy or Such ; virtuosic anthropomor- search scientist.) It wasn't a settled You get to a certain point with the Italian rentboy and a stylish, angled account of the Last Days of mix, Impossibly bustling. Nothing the end of the 18th century and the gered secrets and recognitions in a mentary record. It bounces a noisy The unmistakable impression, as end of the 20th, in that there's an smart but unpredictable procession of bad behaviours. If Royal divorces were staged, and not just casually exhibited at tedious length, Hensher Norfolk himself is an odd mixture | would be their perfect commontator: spent reporting for Austrian News of diffidence, and rollicking elo-, sharp to field-pattern, not a little senquence - he speaks in fluent peri- tentious, acidly voluptuous on dresssense and dress-nonsense.

And he rather likes powerful ends of things," Kitchen Venom is a women to help him do so. Other Lulus, his first novel, gave the nar- that Journal, his clerkly helpers, his inly for their ship to be wrecked off the site for spending four years writing a novel — Lem- writing a novel — Lem- better than his debut; It is even better than his debut; It be "sort of about boar hunting and trusive "I" the novel opens - some cation of pleasure and assent. Her In person, however, Norfolk is an Norfolk admits to stealing from German philosophy": The explana, what flatly, with an overdetermined sher's Kitchen Venom imagines all Hensher at his most Look Mum No He discusses his debt to Thomas German philosophy," Norfolk in- to the teller; his sketch of that quality in her full plumage is as economically full as any.

Hensher is a rewarding novelist, for oddly divergent reasons. His A pause. That's the problem, you | clevernesses are manifold, if not always manifest, buried sometimes in the glint of eclectic homages that: run through the prose from :

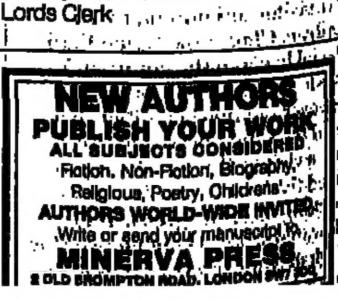
(Not always buried - Trollope and Compton-Burnett peep from their coffin-lids rather creakily.) His nar ration is remarkable for the casual stateliness and manic range of its frequent judgments. The questionable utility of Pimlico, of ice-cream recipes, of hair putties, of MPs incapable of understanding the rules of their own legislature are all lightly inspected. Under this easy surface of intelligence, some of it is enough, runs a tighter scoring. Hensher's great glft is for the plainest of dialogue, lots of it, and for what it withholds. He has an excellent ear for those cadences of repetition that freight our halfincompetent interactions in speech Dossessiveness.

A ND SEX? And Parliament? was coming to that. Hensher's novel makes effective, technical play with its ruined lives by invoking a contrast endemic to the parliabook of mere words - that textual massage-parlour most readers know. as Hansard - off the squarer, less familiar notations of the Commons Journal, that dry tea-block of Sup posedly Real Decisions, "The Journal wrote what was essential. The Journal wrote the beginnings and sad story about a man .who writes

Acts, of parliament start in bills and petitions and often die as them; then goes further, in its astringent choosing to halt before them.

Jeremy Maule is a former. House of Lords Clerk

NEW AUTHORS ALL SUBJECTS CONSIDERED Fiation. Non-Flotion, Biography, " Religious, Poetry, Ohlickens' AUTHORS WORLD-WIDE HWITE Write or send your manuscript Read BILD BROMPTON MOAD. LONDON SHI PS



GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Deadpan wizard

lan Thomson

The World, the World by Norman Lewis Cape 293pp £18.99

rash of travel books by wannabes who sought to create artificial difficulties for themselves - "Hanggliding to Limpopo", "Sideways to Nairobi on a Giraffe". Lewis was above all this; in 1968 he published a famously compassionate magazine article — it was 12,500 words long about the extermination of Brazilian Indians which led to the foundation of Survival International.

Today, there's an air of the prewar about the Sage of Enfield: his toothbrush moustache and sad spaniel eyes. This book is mothballed in memories and opens just after the war when Lewis's Sicilian in-laws, the Corvajas, are domiciled in Bloomsbury

In the late forties, having sold his camera shop in Holborn, Lewis divorces Ernestina Corvaja and settles in Wales to write a book on the pre-Hispanic culture of Central America. Lewis says he put five years into this project, off and on, yet it must have subsided into the great limbo of unpublished works. The same cannot



Norman Lewis bewails the damage of mass tourism PHOTO DON MOCULE

brated books on Indochina and the | lage. The book is pure poetry; now, | admiration for Ernest Hemingway. | a dim view of American culture. His Italian Mafia catalogue with anthro- of course, this remote outpost is part In 1957, as a newspaperman, Flem- superb thriller The Sicilian Specialing commissioned Lewis to inter- ist, was based at the time - 1974 -In this memoir Lewis bewails the view the grand old man in Cuba. To on undisclosed facts about the how a new religion flourished in damage caused not only by Bible- his dismay, he finds a rheumy-eyed Kennedy assassination and was re-South Vietnam, with Victor Hugo as thumping missionaries, but also by wreck in his pyjamas, swigging from moved from sale in some American mass tourism. But if aboriginal tribes a bottle of Dubonnet. Lewis urgently cities following a Mafia ban. The Lewis is not a typical travel writer. wear penis gourds under Bugs cabled home to Fleming: "To meet World, The World is vintage Norman His schooling at Enfield Grammar | Bunny T-shirts, is this really such a | Hemingway was a shattering experi- Lewis; the light lash of his humour, could hardly turn him into a patrician loss? His friendship with Ian Flem- ence likely to sabotage ambition." his sniffer-dog's nose for the quirky.

Industrial homicide

Jenny Turner

Flynn's legendary endowment look like a Derringer pistolette" That's the purple prose of terminal boredom. It's common around workplaces, but that doesn't atop it from being a humour based on despair. Haskins, the super-zealous security snitch, is making breakfast for his disabled wife, just before leaving for his works retirement do. "This was it! This was them for the rest of their lives, a pair of old juiceless fossils burled in a graveyard of dead hopes." Imagine leaving for your retirement do, feeling you have nothing left to look forward to. Imagine looking back with nostalgia on a working life in which all you were employed to

do was to spy on everybody else. Torrington saves his cruellest joke for his last two chapters. A shop steward has been asked to convene an extraordinary union meeting. Everybody, from the most do-right lefty to the wildcat anarchist sucking contemptuvery bones to discover why the meeting has been called. "B-but they c-can't do that. Not the entire plant. Why, that's tantamount to industrial homicide . . ." The reader, of course, has long since been placed in the powerful but. unpleasant position of Ghost of Christmas Future nineties-style. One of the problems with

historical hindsight is that it all too easily collapses into nostalgia. Now that Britain's productive industries are long dead, we imagine it must have been like heaven back in the days they were alive. This sharp, sardonic novel brilliantly shows the fallacy

A dash of Derrida

Elizabeth Young

In the Cut by Susanna Moore Picador 179pp £12.99

CUSANNA MOORE has hit the duced something which critics and sophisticated readers perpetually crave - a contemporary novel which not only acknowledges all the twists and turns of postmodern literhighly readable and compulsive which doesn't hurt.

rather low on the shock-o-meter. The overboard --- and drowned.

This laundiced tone has been ordinaire 1996 American thriller - an identical plot. Elise Title's genre realism. No hype, few rethe bedrock shucture in both books runs thus: girl meets homicide detective and his partner during murder inquiry, starts steamy affair with detective, realises only he can be the killer, turns to his partner for help in entrapment.

This similarity is not sinister much-project "knock-out ending" I this too really leads nowhere.

and serve to underline the vast gap in status between mass-market and [27.99] literary fiction. It's amazing what a dash of Derrida will do.

The first third is very good in-Death is all around.

Wayne Gacy. She glimpses a neighpage-turner. It is also very short, bourbood girl who is murdered Who's Who of Religiona, ed John shortly afterwords and in the words | R Hinnelis (Penguin, £8.99) Bret Easton Ellis (a friend) tells of cool, sexy Detective Malloy, "distually, otherwise.

distractedly raises a plethora of seri- "drinking heavily". with - when stripped to the bone ous issues - in particular the linguistic gap between the intelli-Bleeding Hearts is highly effective gentsia and others, how this affects every aspect of their life and work. views. Without spoiling the chase | and how hard it is to penetrate and evaluate these differences.

The middle section flags badly. Frannie, admittedly overpowered by the mendacious and "opaque" Malloy, becomes duller and dimmer. Moore has to fall back on the tight format of that excellent plot But even at the denouement Moore plots are famously few; it's not what compelled to be deep. Framie beyou do, it's the way that you do it. It lieves in knowledge. "Knowing did, however, detract from Moore's | don't mean shit," says Malloy. But

BOOKS 29

Paperbacks

Nicholas Lezard

Heart's Journey in Winter, by James Buchan (Harvill, £6.99)

SET DON'T believe this country has a better writer to offer than James Buchan," says the poet Michael Hofmann, and, implicitly, the Guardian, giving him its 1995 Fiction Award; the author photograph on the back cover shows his face, for all the world as weary and hopeless as the spy narrator of this novel, who plays his little part in the Central European drama kicked into action by the Russians' deployment of SS-20s. As spy stories go, it is in a class of its own, although the heavy literary sensibility pulls against the genre's own absurd demands: unlikely dialogue, statements where humanity and portentousness slug it out — "Love, in particular, is the circus hoop through which history is forced to jump, over and over again." If this is true, then Buchan is a gifted ringmaster indeed. But if it isn't ... Ach, read it anyway.

Accountable to None: The Tory Nationalisation of Britain, by Simon Jenkins (Penguin, £7.99)

NA nutshell: while pretending to decentralise, to devolve power to the hands of local trusts, authorities, or whatnot, the successive Tory administrations have in fact presided over an extraordinary and unprecedented concentration of might into the hands of a minute and biased clique. I suppose it is better that Jenkins has realised this now, and said so, than that he had never done so at all. Elegantly written, as everyone agrees.

War in European History, by Michael Howard (Opus/OUP,

A NEAT vertical slice through the stratified mud of European deed. Moore sews up the post- war, from the Knights Templar to mortem linguistic angle by having the nuclear stalemate. Historical Siackpot with this, her fourth her narrator, Frannie, teach creative changes in the status quo by no novel. Very adroitly she has pro- writing at NYU. Frannie, intelligent, means invalidate its thrust ("notharticulate, is increasingly stressed. | ing has occurred since 1945 to indi-It's summer in the city; Washington | cate that war, or the threat of it, Square is choking in the heat. | could not still be an effective instrument of state policy"). A brilliant One of Frannie's students is writ- | writer, a billion times more intelliary studies but is simultaneously a ling a paper on serial killer John gent than his wretched namesake.

Moore that her book is "the most articulated". This particular word is PLENDID little encyclopedia; shocking thing I've ever read". This the fulcrum for the book. Clever | The best one I've, seen which is complete nonsense. So are sugges | Frannie, plunging irrationally, into | covers the subject. I particularly reltions that the book should carry a her hot 'n' heavy affair with the non- ish the entry on Sampson Oppong. warning sticker. It actually registers grammatical, blue-collar Malloy is the Ghanaian prophet who, imprisberself gradually disarticulated, oned for embezzlement, had a vicognoscenti have gone completely emotionally, intellectually and, even- sion 'exhorting him to preach for reform; he'ignored it, "and became Ultimately, however, the post- a practising sorcerer and successful slightly exacerbated by the unfortu- modern aspirations of the novel swindler". The Holy Ghost had betously on his fag, is shocked to his nate coincidence of my having re- seems pretty spurious and fail to ter luck a second time, until Oppong cently read an unpretentious; vin come together. Moore repeatedly, was hauled up before the beak for

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30 SPORT Football Premiership: Middlesbrough 0 Manchester United 3 United sail towards historic double

David Lacey

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ISTORY beckons Manchester United. Now only Liverpool stand between Alex Ferguson's team and a unique second double, the first of which they achieved only two years ago.

After a fitful first half at the Riverside Stadium on Sunday, Old Trafford's third Premiership title in four | sharp downward header that beat seasons was clinched with some- Gary Walsh while Branco could thing to spare. They meet Liverpool at Weinbley on Saturday.

For a time Middlesbrough, refusing to be cowed by either the occa- Cox having given them severe palpision or an early goal from David | tations in the opening minute by May, threatened to spoil United's | heading Juninho's centre just wide. day. But then Andy Cole came off Yet Juninho's sudden dashes at the the bench early in the second half to defence still unsettled United. score with his first touch before Ryan Giggs completed another day | level was due to a mixture of excelof triumph for Ferguson with an- lent defending by May and a little other memorable goal.

So the team that trailed Newcastle United by 12 points in late Janu- Schmeichel to a long ball from Pearary has won the champlonship for son and flicked it towards an unthe 10th time, equalling Arsenal's guarded goal. Riverside an total. Now only Liverpool, with their | Tyneside must have groaned in uni-18 titles, have won it more often.

Administrative red tape had lined | side of the near post. up a replica of the Premiership trophy for Manchester United on Sun- straightforward opportunity. Again day - something to do with the Juninho created the chance, and last hypothetical logistics of a home tri- | autumn Barmby would have found umph on Tyneside. No matter: the net with his eyes closed. But there was no doubting the real now, off balance, he put the ball well champions.

Peter Schmeichel, probably rightly, thought that the 1993 cham- header from Mustoe and Fjortoft pionship, United's first for 26 years, had been more exciting "because | appeared to be more than a flicker the folks had waited so long for it". of life left in the championship. In Yet this time the moment surely car- the event the issue remained in ried more meaning.

appeared are under 25; three are 21 | son brought on Cole for his extra and Phil Neville is still 19. "They've pace. stayed in the swimming pool all the time," said Ferguson, "which says a lot for them."

Next season, then, Manchester | tal to his needs, one thought. United will enter the Champions' League with youth on their side and | nodded on Giggs's corner and Cole, virtually free of foreign restrictions. showing the predatory instincts Moreover, they have won the which had persuaded Ferguson to 0; West Ham 1, Sheff Wed 1. league with a new-year surge remi- buy him, beat Walsh with an overniscent of Liverpool at the height of head shot. their powers. Since losing 4-1 at Tottenham on January 1 they have | Giggs provided the perfect embell- | Liverpool won 13 games out of 16 and drawn ishment. Gathering a pass from Butt Aston Vila

up the pace. Having established dispatching a left-footed shot of typitheir 12-point lead, they then cal audacity past Walsh. dropped 21 out of the next 45. By contrast United allowed only an- Kev," sang a Manchester United other five points to slip away.

The victory, though convincing in Liverpool at Wembley on Saturday the end, was far from a formality. | would be sweeter still.

"There's only one Bryan Robson," the United fans chanted politely, but Robson's Middlesbrough side made his old team work hard for a win which in the end they did not need.

May's goal, after 13 minutes, exploited the nervousness Middlesbrough had already shown at corners. The centre-back met Giggs's swerving centre with a only help the ball into the net.

The goal settled any lingering nerves among Ferguson's players

That Middlesbrough did not draw luck. After 24 minutes Barmby, timing his leap well, beat the advancing son as the ball bounced the wrong

Barmby then missed a more

With Schmeichel dropping on a beginning to cause problems, there doubt no longer than the eight Eight of the United players who minutes that elapsed before Fergu-

What on earth was the Manchester United manager playing at? Surely Scholes was more fundamen-

Thirty seconds later Cantona

The rest was academic until Newcastle on the left, the Welshman made Eventon Newcastle simply could not keep space as a matter of routine before

"Stick to selling Sugar Puffs, banner. For Ferguson, victory over



GUARDIAN WEEKIY May 12 1998

OOLIGANISM marred the track. Having cleared her name final week of the domestic over drugs charges after a battle arrested at Ipswich, where Millwall a further 800 metres victory to her were relegated from the First Division after a goalless draw. The trav- | burgh's Meadowbank stadium. elling fans tore up seats and threw final whistle. Fighting broke out later in a car park.

There was also violence before | McClung, was second in 2:9.63. and during Bradford City's match at Hull. A goal in the 56th minute gave Bradford a 3-2 victory to go into the play-offs. The match was held up for

11 minutes as Hull fans demonstrated against their club's officials and later clashed with visiting supuorters in the streets. Twenty arrests were made and three policemen injured. Brighton was the scene of rioting a week earlier.

SIMMONS. the Eric Cantona's kung fu-style kick | needed for victory. during Manchester United's game don, south London.

case before retirement - asked for around the neck. trying to haul him 130-5. over a table and appearing to kick him in the chest.

charge inmates at weekends.

THE Football Association has New Zealander, Vaughn Jefferies, Colombian star, Faustino Asprilla, Bounce. Three other New Zealan-£10,000 and imposed a one-match ders were in the top 10. ban after finding him guilty on two charges of misconduct arising from the elbowing and butting incidents CRMER Manchester City chairinvolving Manchester City's Keith | man Peter Swales has died after Curle in their match on February 24. Curle was cleared. HE career of Diane Modahl, the former 800-metre Common-



Hoddle fulfils ambition to lead England

Martin Thorpe

C LENN HODDLE accepted the Jjob of England manager las week after two days of intense spec ulation. The Chelsea manager will take up the national reins after the European Championship on July L At 38, Hoddle will be the

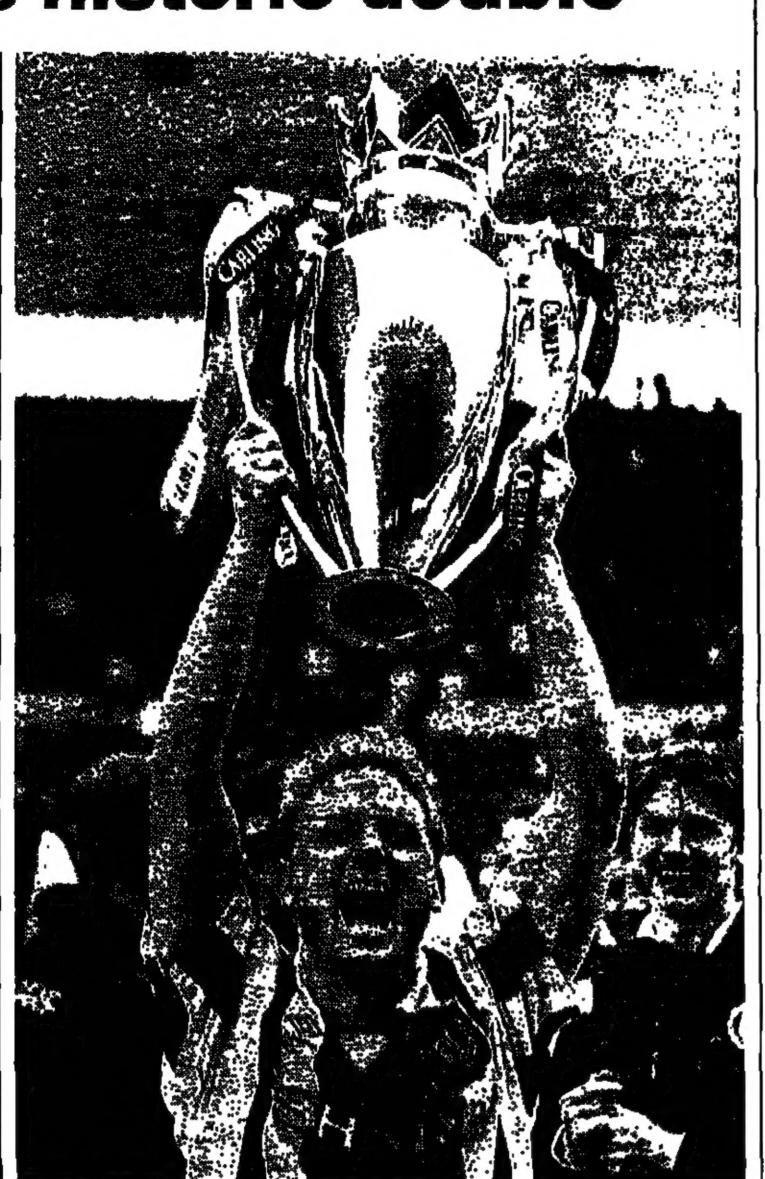
youngest England manager and the least experienced, having been club manager only five years.

However, once Kevin Keegan, Gerry Francis and Bryan Robson ruled themselves out of the reckon ing to replace Terry Venables, Hod-dle was the obvious choice for the Football Association sub-committee charged with finding a new manager

Although he has won nothing with Chelsea he has fashioned an at tractive team who reached the 199 FA Cup final and did well in Europe The former Spurs midfielder won 53 England caps and also had a play ing spell with Monaco.

When Hoddle announced his decision at a press conference on Thursday, he admitted that it had been a heart-rending two days, and "it was the only job I would leave Chelsea for". But leading England was "a privilege and an honour and a burning ambition since a very young age. It is the pinnacle of any management career and the timing was right."

Hoddle will take over from Venables after Euro '96, tied to a fouryear contract worth a reputed £250,000 a year. His first priority is to lead England to the 1998 World Cup finals, with the opening qual-



May Day . . . A jubilant David May, scorer of United's first goal against Middlesbrough, holds the title trophy aloft PHOTO: LAURENCE GRIFFITHS | fier on September 1.

Football results and final tables

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP P W D L F APts 46 13 17 16 54 63 66 Arsenal 2, Bolton 1; Chelsee 2, Blackburn 3; Reading Coventry 0, Leeds 0; Eventon 1, Aston Villa 0; Wolverhampton 46 13 16 17 56 62 66 Portsmouth 46 13 13 20 61 GJ 52 Man City 2, Liverpool 2; Middleabrough 0, Man Utd 3; Newceatle 1, Tottenham 1; Notim 48 13 13 20 43 03 82 Millwail 46 10 18 18 12 70 48 Watford Luton P W D L F APts Man Uld 38 25 7 B 73 35 B2 38 24 6 8 66 37 78 38 20 11 7 70 34 71 38 18 9 11 52 36 63 38 17 12 9 49 32 63 38 17 10 11 64 44 61 38 18 7 13 61 47 61 Blackburn Blackpool 2. Totlenham 38 16 13 9 50 38 61 Notim Forest 38 15 13 10 50 54 88 West Ham 38 14 9 15 43 52 61 Cheisee 38 12 14 12 46 44 80 Oxford Utd Middleebrough lackpool Leeds 38 12 7 19 40 57 43 Notte County Wimbledon 38 10 11 17 65 70 41 Crawe Bradford Cheaterfield Sheff Wed 38 10 10 18 48 61 40 38 8 14 16 42 60 38 Coventry Southampton 38 9 11 18 34 62 38 Man City 38 9 11 18 33 58 39 Wrexham Stockport 38 9 6 23 38 67 38 **Bristol Rovers** Nakapil Wycombe END&LEIGH LEAGUE: First Division Birmingham 1, Reading 2; Charlton 1, Wolverhampton 1: Crystal Palace 0. Norwich Brentford 1; Huddersfield 0, Portsmouth 1; loswich 0, Rotherham Milwall 0; Oldham 1, Luton 0; Stoke 1, Southend 0; Tranmere 2, Sunderland 0; Watford 0, Burnley Leicester 1; West Brom 3, Derby 2; Barnaley 1, Grimsby 1; Shelf Utd 1, Port Vale 1. York PWDLFAPts 46 22 17 7 59 33 83 Swansee Sunderland Derby
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Final leading positions: 1, String 18-61 2, East File (36-67); 3, Berwick (36-60). Third Division: Alica 2, Cowdenbae! Arbroath 2, Albion 1; Caledonian T 1, Uvingeton 2; East Stirling 3, Brechin 0; Ross, County 0, Queen's Park 1, Final leading positions: 1, Livingston (36-72); 2, Bredin

(36-63); 3, Caledonian T (36-57).

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY May 12 1998

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

Going gets rough

football season, with 14 fans lasting nearly two years, she added name when she came first at Edin-

Modhal finished in 2min 6.37sec, them at home supporters after the | well below her personal best of 1:58.65 but comfortably ahead of the rest of the field. Scotland's Mary

THE second and final Test between New Zealand and West Indies ended in a tame draw at game Antigua after the visitors failed to grab the challenging opportunity created by their bowler, Danny Morrison. He put them into contention with 5 for 66 in the home skittled out for a paltry 184. But | card to the offenders but chose to once first innings century-maker | impose what proved to be the ulti-Nathan Astle was out, New Zealand Inate sanction, enabling Jon Callard VI hooligan who was the target of made no attempt to go for the 296 to kick the winning conversion.

He was found guilty of provoking also straight into an unenviable ter's captain Dean Richards said: cutor Jeffrey McCann - on his last | highest number of ducks in Tests beating the previous mark of 23 set | Robbo. I have seen Steve and he ac-Simmons to be banned from all foot- by the Indian spinner, Bhagwat cepts it was a genuine mistake." ball grounds, the 21-year-old threw Chandrasekhar. Scores: West Indies himself on the lawyer, grabbing him 547-7 and 184; New Zealand 437 and

threatening behaviour and banned Olympic medallist, achieved his grounds for 12 months. He was then in one of the tightest finishes in rejailed for seven days for contempt | cent years. He collected the Mitbut was freed after only one day be- subishi Motors Trophy after the cause he was due to be released on overnight leader, Scotland's Ian Sunday and prisons do not dis- Stark, had two fences down in the iumping area.

The Kiwi rode a superb clear round on Bertie Blunt. Another fined Newcastle United's came second after a clear round on

suffering a series of heart attacks. He was 63. Swales was head of City for more than 20 years, from 1973 until a bitter takeover battle two years ago which left former City and England striker Francis Lee in conwealth champion, is firmly back on trol at Maine Road. During Swales's time, City won their last major trophy when they beat Newcastle in the 1976 League Cup final.

> THE world of tennis was in mourning following the death of former American star Tim Gullikson, after a year-long battle against cancer of the brain.

Gullikson, who was 44, coached Pete Sampras to the position of world number one after enjoying a successful career in doubles with his twin brother, Tom. Gullikson won four singles and 16 doubles titles during the '70s and '80s. He quit the pro circuit in 1986 and coached Martina Navratilova, Mary Jo Fernandez and Aaron Krickstein before joining Sampras in 1992.

Rugby Union Pilkington Cup final: Bath 16 Leicester 15

Tigers pay the final penalty

Robert Armstrong

N ANGRY two-handed push Steve Lander cast a long final that saw Bath chalk up their 10th success at Twickenham, a sour end to a controversial match.

Back's shove was seen on television seconds after the final whistle plinary action against the Leicester and England flanker, notwithstanding his apology to Lander after the

The match was settled two minutes from time when Lander awarded Bath a penalty try follow-

Back, who refused to collect his The match, however, brought du- losers' medal, insisted that he

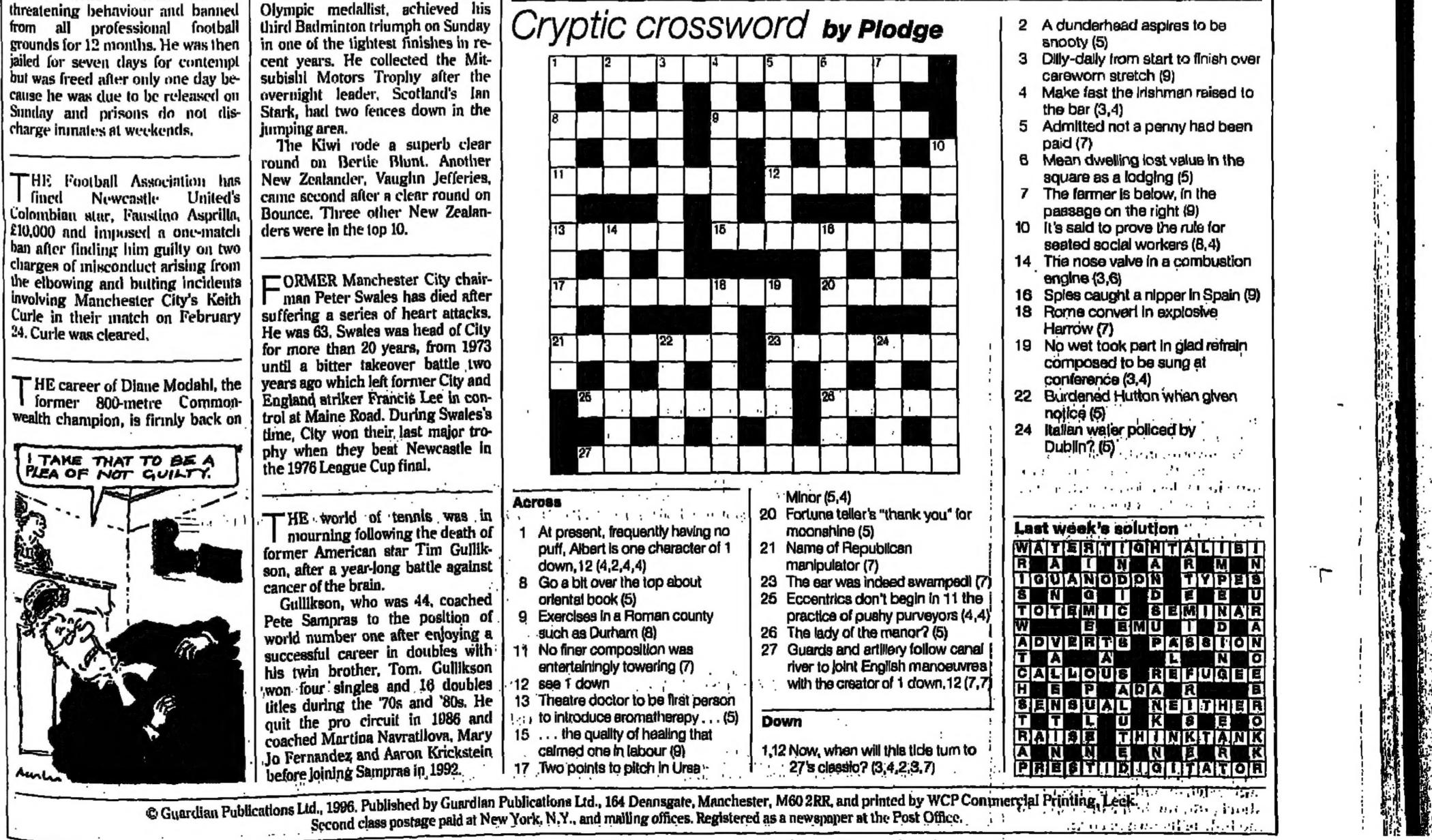
Cynics may suggest a cover-up was hastily cobbled together by the second half. Leicester and Lander to save bring-

Though Lander regards the matby Neil Back on the referee | ter as closed, there is a loophole in the regulations under which the shadow over a highly unsatisfactory incident could come under fresh scrutiny. Steve Griffiths. national referees development officer, said: "The citing procedure requires an official who witnessed the matter to provide evidence which and may force the RFU to take disci- could include video evidence. If that happened the matter would go through the appropriate disciplinary channels.

Whatever the outcome, Leicester who scored two excellent tries through Malone and Poole, will inevitably consider they were robbed ing persistent infringement by the of the cup by the referee's whim. Leicester forwards, Lander had the The storm of booing that greeted The storm of booing that greeted side's second innings as they were | option of issuing a yellow or a red | Bath as they climbed the steps to receive the trophy signalled a widespread perception that they were winners by default. Certainly it was their fourth league and cup double.

In fact, the Tigers played virtually against Crystal Palace at Selhurst | bious honours for Morrison, When | thought he was pushing Andy | all the attacking football in the open-Park early last year, was at the cen- Curtly Ambrose dismissed him lbw Robinson of Bath out of the way to ing 20 minutes of each half. Maltre of a courtroom drama at Croy- without scoring, not only did he get off the pitch, an explanation one's early try, which followed a Irishman in front of the posts, was the United star, but when the prose- place in the record books — for the "Neil is amazed this has happened the best by a fly-half at Twickenham

Bath, who badly missed the pow- on the path to the type of total rugby ing the game into further disrepute. crful driving of their injured No 8 that ought to win more trophies. However, there is no compelling | Ben Clarke, lived off scraps of pos- | • Pontypridd beat Neath 29-22 in For his part in the Cantona inci-dent Simmons was fined £500 for Mark TODD, New Zealand's reason to doubt the probity of Back, session and improvised some lively Cardiff to take the Swalec Cup.



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who has a reputation for discipline sorties under the prompting of Catt, and sportsmanship second to none. but they lacked real conviction inside the Leicester 22 and never looked like crossing the line. In deed, Bath seemed dead and buried six minutes from time when Poole stole a throw-in by Dawe and scored a splendid try following Back's clever grub kick to the right corner.

Overall, Leicester gave the more controlled and coordinated performance, putting Bath under pressure in the set-pieces and showing sound instincts in broken play, yet their inability to establish a two-score lead encouraged the holders to increase their scavenging around the fringes. Dawe, Mallett, Redman and Peters ensured that the formidable Leicester pack would not be allowed to enjoy complete domination no matter how long they spent camped in the Bath half.

"It took a massive team effort to come back from the dead, and not a ragtag performance that clinched many sides could have done," said Brian Ashton, the Bath coach. "We'll make errors with our style of play but we are confident it will bring us more points than the other side. We have the right basis to send him back to the pavilion but quickly accepted by Lander. Leices- defence-splitting dummy by the make a strong challenge in next season's European Cup."

Leicester's prospects in Europe - he thought the referee was for many seasons, and had Liley not will depend partly on who they apfailed with four kickable penalties point as their new director of rugby out of five, Leicester would have after the recent dismissal of Tony been out of sight by the middle of Russ. An announcement is expected this week which could set the club

and our presention does not